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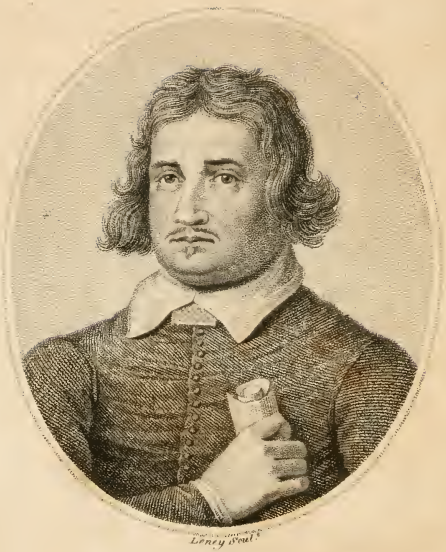

The Revd HUGH PETERS AM.

Arch-Intendant of England,

from 1640 to 1660.

A

HISTORY

OF THE

REV. HUGH PETERS, A. M.

ARCH-INTENDANT

OF THE PREROGATIVE COURT OF DOCTORS COMMONS;

MEMBER

OF THE CELEBRATED ASSEMBLY OF DIVINES AT THE SAVOY, WESTMINSTER; AND

PRINCIPAL CHAPLAIN

TO THE LORD PROTECTOR AND TO THE LORDS AND HOUSE OF COMMONS, FROM THE YEAR 1640 TO 1660.

WITH AN APPENDIX.

BY THE REV. SAMUEL PETERS, LLD.

"Let us praise famous men, and our fathers who begat us: the Lord hath wrought great glory by them." Ecclus. xliv.

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PREFACE.

THE reputation of the Rev. Hugh Peters, A. M. as a friend to religion, literature, and the poor, is so effectually known and established in Europe and America, that it would be impertinent in me to attempt any additional recommendation; nor would there be any necessity for this preface, were it not necessary to give the reader a few cautions.

The quotations in the following sketch of the origin and character of Mr. Hugh Peters, are taken from the writings of the two contending parties, and every reader will form his own verdict respecting the writers in the factions of Charles I. and his parliament.

> " They had fierce wars and hot disputes,
> " As e'er fell out 'twixt brutes and brutes."
>
> HUDIBRAS.

The king's party laid the blame of the civil war on the houses of lords and commons, and the parliament laid the blame on the king's ministers and counsellors. Hence both sides were innocent and guilty, at the same time, of treason, murder, and tyranny. To find the truth, the reader has to look for the cause of the war, and then see which party commenced the

overt act of hostility. Both parties allowed that the constitution of England was composed of three estates, the king, the lords and the commons. Each estate was equally sovereign and independent of the other, and neither branch could, in its separate character, make any law, or lay a tax: of course, a union of the three estates was necessary, to make a law and to lay a tax.

The fact was, the king alone imposed a tax on ships, and forced payment thereof. The two other estates remonstrated against the tax and the law, because it was repugnant to the constitution. The king did not recede, nor hearken to the remonstrance; but, by advice of his ministers, went in a hasty manner into the house of commons with an armed force, to seize the leading members in opposition to his royal and illegal tax and law. The house of commons voted that their rights and privileges were infringed, and the constitution had been trampled on by these overt acts of the king. Lord Strafford, lord Digby, and other counsellors of the king, advised his majesty to raise troops and compel obedience to his illegal tax and law, and his majesty yielded to their advice.

On this ground commenced the war between the king and his two houses of parliament. The parliament had only the alternative, either to give up the constitution and their rights to the king and his ministers, or to defend them by force of arms. The parliament resolved to defend the constitution, and

their rights and privileges; and thus both parties, contrary to the constitution, made themselves new constitutions, under which they raised troops; and

> "Then both sides madly took much pains
> "To knock out one another's brains."
>
> HUDIBRAS.

And both sides, by their own laws, proclaimed their opponent, traitors, rebels and tyrants; and both sides suffered as traitors, rebels, and tyrants, according to the law of power.

While religion and the constitution gave place to self-defence and mutual destruction, archbishop Laud and his clergy were employed in the pulpits and in the fields of battle, to defend the royal party; and the Rev. Hugh Peters and his puritan clergy were employed in the same way to defend the parliamentary party.

According to the law of chance, lord Strafford, archbishop Laud, and king Charles I. died on the scaffold for high treason against the theocracy of the people; and Gen. Harrison, the Rev. Hugh Peters, and Judge Coke, died on the scaffold for high treason against a constitution which had been buried twenty years by both parties. The misfortune of each sufferer yielded more pain than disgrace, according to the opinion of all candid spectators.

After the murder of Charles I. a new constitution was formed, consisting of three estates, the independents, the presbyterians, and episcopalians, who concurred in governing the nation until 1660, in which

year, "they fell out as they fell in," and the presbyterians, who sold the king to the independents, and the army, cut his throat, restored his son by the manœuvres of General Monk; and Charles II. the new king, with his old and new friends, restored the old constitution of 1640, by which the king, the presbyterians, and the episcopalians, cut the throats of the independents.

> "Thus after they had fought so long
> "For dame Religion, till they'd none;
> "This lucky hit brought things about,
> "That they fell in as they fell out."
>
> HUDIBRAS.

ERRATUM.

Page 98, line 5 from the bottom, for "repeated" read *repealed*.

HISTORY

OF THE

REV. HUGH PETERS, A. M.

THE ill-natured world is always ready to load the unfortunate with crimes of which they have never been guilty: To prove the observation, I name two extraordinary characters, the Rev. Dr. Wm. Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Rev. Mr. Hugh Peters, A. M. the spiritual heads and leaders of two parties in church and state in the seventeenth century. The civil war in the reign of Charles the First was supported by these two clergymen. From this circumstance, the world knows and believes that Laud and Peters possessed superlative talents; otherwise we must condemn Charles the First, and his court, as ideots and fools, for chusing Laud their spiritual and civil leader; and we must also condemn the Earl of Warwick, Sir Thomas Fairfax, and Oliver Cromwell, and their puritan friends, as foolish Galatians, for chusing Peters their spiritual and civil leader. It cannot be supposed that either party was so stupidly

blind to their respective interests, as to chuse incompetent leaders; incompetent, I say, in knowledge, piety, and public virtues. We all know, that the great body of the people will not follow or be led by vicious, profane, ignorant, and ungodly men. All, therefore, must own they verily possessed characters worthy of the public confidence before and during the civil war; and we know that the friends of those two gentlemen never deemed either of them immoral, hypocritical, and wicked. And yet, if we believe English historians, we shall find Laud and Peters were supported by their respective friends during many years, whilst they publicly lived in drunkenness, cruelty, debauchery, hypocrisy, and immoralities of every kind. Admitting, for a moment, that truth is contained in these charges, we must necessarily conclude that the royal party, which supported Dr. Laud, and the puritan party, which supported Mr. Peters, had neither conscience, shame, sincerity, morality, goodness, or piety to boast of, in their civil and religious disputes, their wars and slaughters.

A small share of common sense, mixed with moderation, (and the experience of the last thirty years) will teach us to believe that Dr. Laud, and Mr. Hugh Peters, had natural talents, highly burnished by learning, morality, goodness, and piety, and that they were exalted above their brethren, for their great abilities and public virtues.

It is perfect wickedness to accuse Dr. Laud and Mr. H. Peters of being hypocrites; seeing no one of

their numerous calumniators could prove it, and therefore never attempted to prove it. It answered their malignant and political purposes to bring forward "a railing accusation"—It served the party.

Those two gentlemen have been equally calumniated, and both suffered death alike by the judgment of courts without legal proof of their guilt. Charles the First thought it to be expedient to have Laud die for the people, and to save his own life; but of that royal thought and action he lived to regret before he suffered martyrdom on the scaffold. Charles the Second thought it to be expedient to have Peters die for the good of the episcopal church, and Gen. Monk, who effected the restoration; lest he might again set aside monarchy and aristocracy by that malignant text in the 149th Psalm: "To bind kings in chains, and nobles in fetters of iron, is the honour God has given to his people;" but of that royal thought he lived not to repent, though it was exactly contrary to the amnesty published in his royal proclamation upon his being restored to the throne. Yet his successor, James the Second, lived to repent, in 1688, that the bishops and ministers of 1660 were not sacrificed with Hugh Peters, who jointly made use of that malignant text, for which Mr. Hugh Peters died, and so proved the revolution right. Having thus far noticed the virtues and sufferings of two men whose characters were far superior to all the clergy in the seventeenth century, I shall proceed to give an historical and critical account of the Rev. Hugh Peters, who

greatly distinguished himself in Europe and America, as St. Paul did himself in Asia, Africa, and Europe, whilst I leave Dr. Laud's character to Lord Clarendon, his biographer, who could write truths concerning his friends, but by reason of his interest, prejudice, credulity, and sufferings, could not write any truth in favour of his enemy.

It is admitted that Lord Clarendon was a learned man; yet, he was as much blinded by prejudice, as Milton through loss of sight. The truth of this observation will appear in the following biography of Hugh Peters, the morning and evening star of New and Old England, amongst the puritans and lovers of liberty.

Nothing shall be advanced respecting Hugh Peters, in this history of him, but what is supported by authentic documents, and the criticisms will speak their own worth. The collector and writer of this account sets out with a belief that Dr. Laud and Mr. Peters were, with all their wisdom and goodness of heart, more zealous than prudent or humane. In that unnecessary war concerning uniformity, rites, and ceremonies, in religious worship, both parties allowed those ceremonies to be non-essentials, and both parties agreed in every essential article in christianity; yet both agreed to quarrel about trifles, which each allowed might, or might not be used without sinning against God.

Dr. Laud believed, that the law of parliament was the liberty of the militant church, and all people in good conscience ought to obey that law. Mr. Peters

believed, that the parliament had no authority from God to make any law binding on the church of Christ, as Christ had established his own system under the words, "let all things be done decently and in order," which left to every congregation, in all states or kingdoms in christendom, a right and power to adopt such modes and ceremonies as they judged to be decent and orderly.

This knotty controversy of the bishops and puritans, soon made the nation as frantic as Aristotle was when he could not discover by his philosophy whether the egg or the hen was first created—a proper question to agitate the mind of a lunatic, but of no utility in the system of philosophy and divinity.

The readers of this narrative are advertised to keep in mind, that Bishop Laud, and Mr. Hugh Peters, figured away their lives in the civil wars between the church of England, and the dissenters from it, in the seventeenth century; when each party spoke and acted every kind of evil towards the other, then, as well as now, a political practice amongst English Protestants, of raising their own characters by depressing the virtues of their neighbours. Protestants were not the inventors of such political practices, but learned them from the Devil, the Jews, the Gentiles, Catholicks, and Mahomedans, who have gained more by railing accusations than by telling truths.

The party against Mr. Hugh Peters have valued themselves on their high birth and descent, and undervalued the parentage and antiquity of Mr. H. Peters's

family. Supposing every word to be true which they advance against the antiquity of his family, it cannot militate against, or lessen the character of Hugh Peters, in the eye of common sense. It may gratify the vanity of an aristocratic *Hide*, raised from a Barrister to be a Lord Chancellor, and other created noblemen, who willingly "forget the rock from whence they were hewn." We are told by good authority, "that a poor man is despised by his rich neighbour, but the righteous and wise are honoured by God."

Mr. H. Peters was born of a rich family, but was made poor by Archbishop Laud, by fines, in the star-chamber court, for his non-conformity to the ceremonies of the church of England; and he gloried in his poverty, in his stripes, and imprisonment.

The family of which Hugh Peters had his descent, came from Normandy into England with William the conqueror in 1066, and John Peters was knighted by Henry VIII. and his grandson, John, was created a Baron by King James I. in 1603.

The genealogy of Lord Peters, in the Herald's Office, points out a curious circumstance respecting the mode of spelling the name. The name of the eldest son, is wrote Petre; the name of the second son, is Petres; the name of the third, is Peter; the name of the fourth, is Peters; and the fifth, is Petrie.—William Peters was the fourth son of Sir John Petre, Knight, of Exeter, in Devonshire. He was married to Miss Elizabeth Treffry, of Fowey, in Cornwall, a

family of great antiquity, which yields not in gentility to any in Cornwall, and which resides in the same place and house to this day. Said William Peters was a merchant at Fowey, and had many sons and daughters by Elizabeth his wife.

At present only three of the sons will be named. They became eminent puritan characters in Old and New England. William, the eldest son, was educated at Leyden university; Thomas was educated at Oxford; and Hugh Peters, born in the year 1599, was sent to Cambridge in 1613, where he was placed in Trinity College. He took the degree of batchelor of arts in 1616, and of master in 1622.—Soon after he was ordained by Dr. Mountain, bishop of London, and licensed Lecturer in the church of St. Sepulchre, where he preached with great success, as appears in his Legacy to his Daughter, viz. "the resort of people to hear the word preached was so great that it contracted envy and anger, though I believe above an hundred every week were persuaded from sin to Christ: there were six or seven thousand hearers, and the circumstances fit for such good work."—P. 101.

Few, if any preachers, since the days of St. Peter, have been blessed with such success as Hugh Peters had at St. Sepulchre, and no wonder envy and anger were contracted by it, as bishops systematically dislike popular preachers, which gives encouragement to inferior preachers to calumniate them, as the direct way to church preferment. It is a fact admitted by

all parties, that Peters converted many from sin to God, and governed the public mind as much as Whitfield, Wesley, and other modern methodists have done, both in America and Europe, and still are doing.*

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* The Rev. and most learned John Wesley, A. M. of Oxford University, in England, son of a worthy clergyman in South-Britain, was a famous gospel preacher whilst he resided in the University with Whitfield, Romaine, Burrage, Broughton, and other great characters, and in consequence of reading the bible the fathers, and the polemical writings of Martin Luther, John Calvin, James Arminius, John Rogers, John Brown, John Robinson, Hugh Peters, Richard Baxter, John Owen, and other great and pious men, became an admirer, in 1729, of the doctrine of universal love of the Deity to his creature man, and the church government established by Christ, under three orders, called by the Greeks Episcopoi, Presbyteroi, and Diaconoi, unconnected with all civil magistrates, kings, popes, and potentates. John Wesley, and all methodists and puritans, inculcated in and out of the pulpit his sentiments, and was opposed by all the power of the University, the bishops, and administration. Their opposition and persecutions induced Wesley to emigrate to Georgia about the year 1730, with General Oglethorpe, a gentleman possessing the cream of human nature, and the first Governor sent out to settle the state of Georgia. There he had the fellowship of George Whitfield, his delight, and the light as well as the glory and life of America, in the same manner as John Wesley was of England, Scotland, and Ireland. The climate not agreeing with the constitution of Mr. Wesley, he left Georgia and returned to England, and in 1736 paid a visit to London, and on Sunday went to Allhollow's church in Lombard-street. It

His fervent zeal, eloquent sermons, pious example, and charitable exertions, could not defend him from

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so happened that the officiating clergyman at that church met with an accident, and did not reach the church that day. The wardens, seeing Mr. Wesley in a clergyman's habit, solicited him to read the prayers, which he did in such a manner as highly pleased the congregation. The rector not appearing, the wardens requested Mr. Wesley to preach them a sermon; Wesley replied, "I would yield to your request had I a sermon with me, and was I not a stranger in this place." The wardens answered, we believe you can preach us a sermon without notes, and the congregation will be pleased and readily excuse any erratic word that may occur in an extempore discourse. On this Mr. Wesley ascended the pulpit, and had for his text, "I am determined to know among you nothing, but Jesus Christ." The auditors were so highly satisfied with his sermon, that after the benediction, they with one voice cried out, Messrs. Wardens, pray solicit this stranger to read prayers and to preach again to us in the afternoon. Mr. Wesley complied with their request, and took for his text, "Christ is the propitiation for us all."—The congregation was charmed with his doctrine and eloquence, and cried out, "never man had spoken like this man." But now notice the consequence. Mr. Wesley was summoned next morning to appear before the bishop of London, and ordered to preach no more in the church of England until he should be permitted by his lordship: because he had preached two sermons without any notes in the church of Allhallow's, in Lombard-street, in the city of London!! After this Mr. Wesley went forth preaching in the highways and fields, and great multitudes followed him by day and night. Wesley and Whitfield being episcopalians, and having one heart and soul, met with great and violent opposition from the bishops and their clergy in the church of England, whilst they persevered in open fields in

trouble and persecution in the star-chamber court, and court of exchequer, on account of his non-

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teaching that Christ was the head of the christian church, and whoever claimed to be its head, besides Jesus Christ who was crucified, was a thief and a robber. To cast an odium on them, they were called methodists, and held up to be enemies of the established religion of the church of England; and no doubt would have suffered like John Rodgers, John Brown, John Robinson, Hugh Peters, John Bunyan, Richard Baxter, and other founders of puritanism, had not George the Second been King of England, the great friend of conscience, and of the liberty and rights of man.

It is true that Wesley and Whitfield parted asunder like Paul and Silas, but it was only respecting the five points, or opinions in dispute between John Calvin and James Arminius; for they ever agreed in episcopacy as the establishment of Jesus Christ, and in reprobating a hierarchy, whether under a pope or a king. John Wesley's party has wonderfully increased in Europe and in America, and promises to comprehend all sects and parties in one society and communion of love.

By pride, or some error in human nature, John Wesley was shut out of the churches in England for forty years; that is, from 1736 to 1776, when Dr. S. Peters, minister at Allhallow's church, Lombard-street, London, invited Mr. John Wesley to preach a charity sermon for him in the very church he had preached in forty years before, and had suffered the wrath of a bishop for. Mr. Wesley smiled, and said, I fear, my dear sir, my compliance will bring you into trouble with Dr. Lowth, the pious and learned bishop of London. Peters replied, I am well known to Dr. Lowth, and will run all hazards. Mr. Wesley complied, and preached to such a multitude as had not been seen in Allhollow's church during the eighteenth century.—Divers clergymen were highly offended with Dr. Peters for

conformity to some trifling ceremonies in the church, enjoined by act of parliament and the papal church,

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suffering Mr. John Wesley to preach in his church, and one of them complained of Dr. Peters, for the offence, to Dr. Lowth. The result was, Bishop Lowth thanked Dr. Peters for bringing Mr. John Wesley again into the church, and blessed God for the event.

The complainant and his coadjutors soon after invited Mr. John Wesley to preach charity sermons for them, and all the clergy in London followed their example, and Mr. John Wesley continued to preach in the churches of England until his death, March 2, 1791.

The charity and moderation of Dr. Lowth, Lord Bishop of London, resembles the practice of the primitive bishops, and the modern bishops of Rome and France, and ought to induce all denominations of christians in the United States of America to follow the example, which seems to be the only method of healing the manifold divisions, and of restoring harmony, peace, and love, to the churches in America and the world.

Mr. John Wesley, as father of the methodists, never suffered any one to officiate as a clergyman, until he was ordained by a bishop, yet Dr. Terrick, bishop of London, refused to ordain twenty-six candidates, instructed and prepared for holy orders by Mr. Wesley, with a view to prevent the growth of methodism, and to promote the interest of the Universities. This step of the bishop greatly distressed Mr. Wesley and the churches under his care, "for the harvest was great, and the labourers were few."

As a presbyter, Mr. John Wesley ever believed he could not ordain, and seeing no help to be had from the English bishops and hearing of Erasmus, a Greek bishop living at Amsterdam, he paid him a visit in 1763, and prevailed on him to go with him to London, where he resided many weeks, and during his stay

which every protestant in Europe, excepting those in the church of England, had rejected as useless and

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with Mr. Wesley, he ordained the twenty-six candidates who had been refused by Dr. Terrick.

Erasmus, the Greek bishop, having left England and returned home, it was made known to the public that he had ordained twenty-six presbyters for Mr. Wesley. Upon this news, Dr. Terrick sent one of his chaplains to Mr. Wesley desiring him to call on the bishop next morning, and Mr. Wesley waited on the bishop, and stated the fact as it was. Dr. Terrick then proposed to Mr. Wesley, that if he and the twenty-six presbyters ordained would consent and appear before him, his lordship would publicly confirm the Greek bishop's ordination, and also grant his licence to each of the *twenty-six* presbyters to officiate in the church of England; for by doing so, it would prevent all disputes about Greek and English episcopacy. Mr. Wesley and the *twenty-six* presbyters, accepted the bishop's proposal, and Dr. Terrick confirmed the Greek bishop's ordination, and licensed each of the twenty-six presbyters to perform service in the church of England.

After the death of bishop Terrick, Mr. John Wesley requested other candidates of his might be admitted into holy orders, but his request was not complied with by the English *bishops*.

After this refusal, Mr. John Wesley began to act like a bishop, and ordained deacons, priests, and bishops, for Great-Britain, the West-Indies, and America. This very unexpected event gave great offence to his brother the Rev. Charles Wesley, and many other high episcopalians, who waited on Mr. John Wesley, and asked him to tell them, by what authority he had done those things, so perfectly contrary to his former creed and practice? Mr. John Wesley answered: "My brethren, I have not changed my creed, and my actions will speak for themselves—but have you not heard nor seen the law called the premunire act?" His

unworthy. It is evident that these ceremonies formed the controversy between Dr. Laud and Mr. H. Peters,

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visitors were astonished and went away. His friends and enemies ever afterwards believed John Wesley had been consecrated to be a bishop by Erasmus, the Greek bishop, either at Amsterdam or London. Mr. Charles Wesley was a very good man, but afflicted through life with a high temper, which led him always after to forsake the fellowship of his brother John, and said the step taken by him would ruin the cause the methodists had in hand, by a persecution superior to that which prevailed in the reign of Queen Mary.

No one that has not too much faith in the cowardice of John Wesley in the cause of Jesus Christ, can or will doubt of the consecration of John Wesley, by Erasmus, a noted bishop in the Greek church. Should any person be found in the old or new world, to doubt of John Wesley being a bishop, I would refer him to the character, uniform faith, and practice, of the Rev. Thomas Coke, D. D. who was consecrated a bishop by John Wesley, a *superintendant* over all deacons and priests in the christian church.

Had this not been the case, I believe Dr. Coke would sooner have run his head against a burning mountain, than have travelled over the West-Indies, America, and the united kingdoms of Great-Britain, and acted as he has done the part of a bishop.—Dr. Coke knows himself vested with episcopal authority—in a lineal succession from St. John, the apostle, and first bishop of Jerusalem, the head of the Greek church. But it may be asked, why has not John Wesley and Dr. Coke made public their testimonium, that the world may know they were bishops?

One simple answer is sufficient. When the British parliament have repealed and annihilated the premunire act, the foundation of all schisms and persecutions since the reformation, the Greek bishops will not be in danger of perpetual imprisonment and loss of all property, but will produce such good testimonium as is

between Charles the First and his parliament; and it was these which created the civil war, that deluged

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called for—therefore, until the premunire act is annulled, the methodists would be self-murderers if they proved John Wesley and Dr. Coke were bishops in the dominions of England, who are not under a hierarchy headed by a pope, or any temporal king in all ecclesiastical matters.

Lest some may think that Wesley and Dr. Coke had more pride than conscience, which no one that ever knew them can believe, another circumstance is now added relative to the consecration of Mr. Wesley by Erasmus, a Greek bishop.

Dr. Samuel Seabury, late bishop in Connecticut, was in London in 1784 and 1785, and intimately acquainted with Mr. John Wesley, and was so fully convinced that he was, in fact, a Greek bishop, that he would have been consecrated by him, if Mr. Wesley would have signed the testimonium as a Greek bishop, which Mr. Wesley declined doing from prudence and self-preservation, as such a signature would have convicted him of a breach of the premunire act; therefore, Dr. Seabury went to Scotland, and was consecrated by bishops deemed apostolical bishops, and not subject to the Roman, or English hierarchy.

I have known John Wesley and many of his brethren in the methodistical system, for more than forty years, and verily believe them all to be episcopalians, and true honest christians, though they had doubts about the Latin and protestant succession, but had none about the uninterrupted succession of the Greek bishops from St. John. Since Mr. Wesley has acted as a bishop, under the name of *a superintendant*, by the power and authority of Erasmus, methodism has greatly increased in Europe and America, and a door seems to be opened to heal all differences in respect to ordination; and when that time shall arrive, the Zion of America will be organized, and a union of all christians will take place. All christians agree about faith and morals, and differ only about modes and forms; gestures and pos-

England with human blood, and quenched that fire of love which Christ came from Heaven to kindle in every heart. Success attended Hugh Peters and the parliament; and all histories tell us, that success constitutes right, and changes rebellions into revolutions, a maxim as true as any in Euclid's Elements—witness 1688.

The calamities which attended Dr. Laud, the Earl of Strafford, Charles the First, and their adherents, were the effects of the star-chamber and court of commissioners. Those two courts may be called the protestant inquisitorial tribunals, to drive opinions and private conscience into madness, by direct persecution; a malignant system of most civil governors, perfectly inconsistent with christianity and good policy. Yet such was the madness of the bishops during the unhappy reigns of the four Stuarts, (converted from presbytery to royal episcopacy, for the ignoble purpose of being honoured with the office of supreme heads of the church of England) that they harrassed and distressed all dissenters from the parliament established church, in the most cruel manner, for no other crime but their non-conformity to ecclesiastical ceremonies which were not worth injunction, and not worth rejection. Nothing can be said on the equity of toleration, but what has been said by Locke and Bayle; and nothing can be said in favour of

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tures; opinions, ceremonies, and other trifling matters. With equal propriety, mankind might contend about features and complexions.

tyranny, but what kings, bishops, and hereditary noblemen have fondly said: "That toleration is inconsistent with the good of the state and church, as it occasions wars and tumults." A maxim evidently false, as has been clearly demonstrated in the communities of Holland, the free states of Germany, in England, since the expulsion of the Stuarts in 1688, and in America, since its independence in 1783, where the greatest number of sects prevail, with the most degrees of happiness. I will venture to say, whenever sects in America shall cease, liberty, learning, and piety, will leave that country, and a union between church and state will take place, to establish hereditary rulers in the state, and a hierarchy in the church. It becomes, therefore, necessary for America, as a free and christian country, not to favour one sect at the expense of another, but to continue its present system of not too much promoting, or too much discouraging the public exercise of certain forms of worship, a sure method of lessening decency and regularity of behaviour, and of adding weight to party quarrels, which are only transient sparks of fire, when the civil power interferes not, but become conflagrations when the civil power foments them. It is the duty and policy of legislators and rulers to maintain civil government with vigour; to allow liberty of conscience to all; to act always like magistrates, and never like priests; for then, and only then, they take the sure means of preserving the state from those storms and hurricanes, which the dogmatic

spirit of clergymen is forever labouring to create and spread.

Had Charles the First possessed such wisdom and prudence, he would have saved Great Britain from the miseries of a civil war, and have prevented his unhappy catastrophe, but he considered himself to be a priest, and the high priest of the church of England, and rather than lose his peter-pence, tenths, and first fruits, he parted with his crown, his prerogative and life. He was honest, but not wise.

The want of toleration and spirit of forbearance every where recommended in divine revelation, first created a clerical war; and secondly, a civil war in Great Britain, neither of which wars would or could have taken place, had not the civil power established by law an ecclesiastical sect, at the expense of all other sects.

Dr. Laud and Mr. Peters were the leaders chosen by the respective parties; and each had honest men on his side.

In the commencement of the ecclesiastical war, Dr. Laud, with his star-chamber court, were too strong for Mr. Peters, and his puritan brethren; Peters, therefore, went to Holland, where he resided five or six years. (See his Legacy.) In Holland, Mr. Peters behaved so well, that he gained great interest and reputation; for, "being afterwards in Ireland, and seeing the great distress of the protestants, he went to Holland and procured thirty thousand pounds

to be sent to them in Ireland." Ludlow's Mem. vol. 3. p. 75.

In 1634, Mr. Peters left Holland, and went to New England to join his puritan friends, who were driven out of Old England by Dr. Laud, Dr. Wren, bishop of Norwich, and other judges in the star-chamber court, for what they called the sin of non-conformity to church ceremonies, acknowledged by all parties to be indifferent ceremonies. He was elected minister at Salem, where his reputation and good conduct gave him an exalted character in the opinion of seventy-seven clergymen of the church of England, who had, like himself, fled from Dr. Laud and the star-chamber court, in pursuit of gospel liberty and the rights of conscience. His eloquence, abilities, learning, and piety, were conspicuous, and venerated in and through the six colonies of New-England, and by the seventy-seven clergymen, whose learning, zeal, piety, and christian virtues, entitled and entailed on them the unfading epitaph of, "the fathers of literature and christianity in the new world." They had a perfect knowledge of the moral and religious character of Mr. H. Peters from the time of his matriculation, in the university of Cambridge, and could have no temptation to exalt and admire his character beyond what was due to it. Those venerable and persecuted clergymen, were precise without profaneness, and pious without hypocrisy; they had sincerity without greediness, and godliness without gain; for they left their cultivated country and fled to the wilds of

America, and suffered hunger amongst beasts and savages in a barren wilderness, rather than be called the sons of Pharoah's daughter, with all the glories of Egypt.

With such characters in New-England Mr. Peters lived seven years, and was chosen one of the trustees of the university of New Cambridge, illustrious in the sciences, morality, and piety; and for his extraordinary talents in the pulpit, he was elected minister of the Great Meeting House in Boston, in which church he officiated with universal applause, until the six colonies of New-England, in a congress of magistrates and ministers, sent him to London as their ambassador to procure some abatement of the customs and excise imposed on that infant and solitary country. No doubt but his abilities and good character procured for him such a distinguished office, to transact an important concern before the royal court of London, and though congress knew he would have to contend against bishop Laud, and other enemies of puritans in England, yet they chose to send him as the most likely person in New-England to procure the wished for relief.

His leaving America was a matter of regret, as he was there out of the reach of the star-chamber court, enjoyed the rights of conscience in a savage country with his puritan brethren, and had the comfort of seeing his two brothers, William and Thomas Peters, settled in New-England with their families; but all these things were overcome in the hope of deliver-

ing America from oppressive laws, from customs and excise, and of again returning to his church and brethren.

Mr. H. Peters, on his arrival in England, found the civil war on foot, and bishop Laud not diposed to shew him any lenity. He went over to Ireland, where he saw the protestants in great distress, and to relieve them went to Holland, and obtained for them large supplies. On his return to Ireland, he was solicited to go to London, where he went, and was entertained by the Earl of Warwick, Sir Thomas Fairfax, and Oliver Cromwell. From this time Mr. Peters became highly esteemed by the parliament, who protected him against bishop Laud and the star-chamber court.

This event took place in 1641, before which time the character of Hugh Peters was good and pure in Old and New England, excepting his sin, as Dr. Laud called it, of puritanism, or non-conformity to certain ceremonies in the church of England; which sin could not be mortal in the sight of God or man, seeing the ceremonies were indifferent—that is, neither good nor bad.

From 1641 to 1660, the sins of Hugh Peters are to be looked for, and will be detailed by his enemies, and not from those who knew him best.

Mr. Whitlock, in his memorials, tells us how he was entertained by the Earl of Warwick, Sir Thomas Fairfax, and O. Cromwell. " Mr. Peters was with the Earl of Warwick, at Lyme, and was by

the Earl sent to give a full account of that business to parliament," page 92. "Mr. Peters was sent with letters by Sir Thomas Fairfax to the commons, from Bridgewater, and was called into the house, where he gave a long relation of the particular circumstances in the taking of that town," page 163. "Mr. Peters was again sent from Bristol, by Gen. Fairfax, to the commons; and he was again called into the house to give a particular account of the siege of that city, and effectually urged the necessity of sending recruits to Sir Thomas Fairfax, as he had desired," page 171. "Mr. Peters was sent with letters, by Lieutenant Gen. Cromwell, concerning the taking of Winchester Castle; after which he was called into the house and gave a particular relation of it," page 175. "Mr. Peters was sent from the army to the house of commons, and gave them a narration of the storming and taking of Dartmouth, and also an account of the valour, unity, and affection of the army; and then presented to the house many letters, papers, crucifixes, and other popish things taken in that town," page 189.

It is evident, from these quotations, that Mr. H. Peters was highly in favour with those generals and the parliament, and that he made a considerable figure in the transactions of those times.

It is not improbable, that the honourable distinctions with which Mr. Peters was treated by the generals and parliament, attached him firmly to their interest, and at the same time promoted the envy and hatred of bishop Laud and the royal party, against

him, which in the end cost him his life ; for his zeal, abilities and activity in the cause he had espoused and succeeded in, could not be forgiven by the conquered party, whose titles and hereditary powers, were laid under rubbish.

Mr. H. Peters was not zealous and active in the cause of the house of commons, out of malice and revenge to Dr. Laud and his friends ; but was influenced by more noble feelings and sentiments, as appears from his whole conduct in life. He never failed to improve his interest with the generals and parliament in behalf of the unfortunate, and his intercessions were generally successful. The Marquis of Worcester was an enemy to Mr. Peters and a friend to bishop Laud, yet when the Marquis was in trouble, Mr. Peters gave him all his help ; this appears by the certificate of the lady of that nobleman, saying, "I do hereby testify, that in all the sufferings of my husband, Mr. Peters was my greatest friend," Trial of the Regicides, page 253. "Mr. H. Peters saved the life of the Earl of Norwich, and the Earl, in gratitude for his generosity, gave him a seal, which he kept to the day he died," ibid, 173. A letter addressed to Secretary Nicholas, March 8, 1648, shows the public opinion of the interest of Mr. Peters with the persons then in power : "Yesterday Mr. Peters presenting Hamilton's petition to the speaker, made many believe Hamilton at last would escape"—Ormond's Papers, vol. 1. p. 233. It is true, his intercession was unsuccessful ; but his exertions manifested his good nature and readiness to

oblige and help the unfortunate. These and many other exertions of like nature during twenty years, ought, and would have been deemed meritorious in Mr. Peters, in any period but the restoration of monarchy, aristocracy, and royal episcopacy. Parliament shewed their esteem of Mr. Peters and his eminent services, by the rewards they bestowed on him. Mr. Whitlock says, "Parliament gave him 100l. when he brought the news of taking Bridgewater, and 50l. when he brought letters from Cromwell concerning the taking of Winchester Castle; there was an order also for 100l. a year for him and his heirs, and another order for 200l. a year to himself. The parliament gave him an estate out of the estate of Lord Craven, and the books of bishop Laud, valued at 140l. and the pay of a preacher, or chaplain"—which were no small tokens of respect and recompence in those days; notwithstanding, Mr. Peters says, Legacy, p. 103, that he lived in debt, because, what he had, others shared in.

Hence may be inferred his generosity, or prodigality of temper. His enemies chose to attribute it to prodigality; but his friends to the liberality of his temper, which rendered his conduct laudable and not culpable. Be it as it may, this will be observed; that the puritan clergy in New and Old England, have always been famed for their liberality; and the bishops, with their clergy, have been branded for their covetousness and want of good natured actions, ever since the reformation by Henry VIII. in 1535—though certain it is, that many exceptions to

those charges may be named. "Mr. Peters generously assisted and attended Mr. Chaloner in all his troubles, and in his last moments, who was executed in 1643, for what was called Waller's plot. He owned he died justly and deserved his punishment. He complied with the request of Mr. Peters, and explained the part he had taken in the plot, and then desired Mr. Peters to pray with him. Mr. Peters also attended Sir John Hotham on the scaffold in 1644, and received public thanks on the scaffold from Sir John, for his excellent and pious instructions and advice." Part of Sir John's speech here follows, that the reader may judge of his temper and behaviour.

"I hope," said Sir John, "God Almighty will forgive me, and the parliament, the court-martial, and all men who have had any thing to do with my death —and, gentlemen, I thank this worthy gentleman, Mr. Peters, for putting me in mind of it." Then Mr. Peters, by desire of Sir John, spoke, requesting, that not many questions should be put to Sir John, who had fully discovered his mind to him and other ministers; and told the audience, that he had something further to communicate to them from Sir John Hotham, which was, "that he had lived in abundance and plenty, his estate was large, nearly 2000l. a year at first, and he had added much to it; that, in the beginning of his days, he was a soldier in the low countries, and was at the battle of Prague; that on his first going out as a soldier, his father spoke to him to this effect, 'My son, when the crown of

England lies at stake, you will have fighting enough;' that he had run through great hazards and undertakings; and now, coming to this end, desired they would take notice in him, of the vanity of all things here below, as wit, parts, prowess, strength, friends, honour," &c. &c. Mr. Peters having prayed, and after him Sir John, they sung the 38th psalm, and Sir John kneeling behind the block, spent about a quarter of an hour in private prayer, after which, lying down, the executioner, at one blow, did his office. Rushworth's History, collect. part iii. vol. 2, pages 327, 328. 803, 804. printed in 1692.

In Rushworth's account, we see nothing but great civility in the conduct of Mr. Peters, and a proper discharge of his office—nothing troublesome or impertinent, but every thing decent and solemn, as one would wish to have it in like circumstances.

Let all candid people compare Rushworth's account with the narration of the Earl of Clarendon, of the same transaction, vol. 2, part 2d, page 622, printed in 1707, and judge which of those two historians have spoken the truth.

Clarendon says, "The poor man (Sir John Hotham) appeared so dispirited, that he spoke but few words after he came upon the scaffold, and suffered his ungodly confessor, Peters, to tell the people that he had revealed himself to him, and confessed his offences against the parliament; and so he committed his head to the block."

By Rushworth's account, Mr. Peters said nothing like Sir John Hothan's having confessed his offences against the parliament. This was Lord Clarendon's invention, like thousands of other things published in his anti-republican history—and as to the epithet *ungodly*, conferred on Peters, let it stand in opposition to Sir John Hotham's declaration, " I thank this *worthy* gentleman, Mr. Peters," and the reader will judge of it as it deserves.

Clarendon, Burnet, Dr. Barwick, and other supporters of monarchy against democracy, have strove hard to criminate Mr. Peters, and have made use of this saying, " Hugh Peters could fight as well as pray." Let us hear what Mr. Whitlock says on this business. " At the beginning of the troubles in Ireland, Mr. H. Peters led a brigade against the rebels, and came off with honour and victory. Hence we see he knew how to use both swords, and could slay and kill as well as feed the sheep"—page 426. How comes it to be a crime in Mr. Peters to lead a brigade against Irish rebels? The Rev. Dr. Walkers defended Londonderry, and fighting at the battle of the Boyne, lost his life gloriously in Ireland; and Dr. Williams, Archbishop of York, armed in the civil wars in England, and fought against the parliament in behalf of the royal hierarchy, and was commended for so doing by the same party that censured Mr. Hugh Peters.

No doubt but there are, and have been times and seasons, when the gown must give place to arms,

and those times are when our lives, liberties and religion are endangered by cruel, ambitious, bloody and despotic men, whose will is law and that law is liberty. Were the clergy in all countries as much concerned for these blessings as Hugh Peters, Dr. Walkers and Bishop Williams were, they would deserve the reverence of all orders of men.

Another stigma cast on Hugh Peters by his enemies, and for which he suffered death as soon as they got him into their power, was, "In his capacity of a preacher, he was most serviceable to the cause of parliament." This was true, as we may judge by what Whitlock says. "When Sir Thomas Fairfax moved for storming Bridgewater anew, and it was assented to, Mr. Peters, on the Sunday before, in his sermon, encouraged the soldiers to the work. Mr. Peters encouraged the people to take the engagement, and they unanimously took it at Milford Haven"—page 162. "Mr. Peters preached in the market place at Torrington, and convinced many of their errors in adhering to the king's party"—p. 447. A man of Hugh Peters's temper, zeal, and capacity, must needs be of great service to any party, and it appears he well deserved the rewards he received from the generals and parliament.

In all wars, especially in civil wars, it is the bold and daring man, who will spare no pains, that is to be valued and encouraged, and not the moderate and timid man.

Another objection against Mr. Peters, made by the same party, was, "He had not the tender con-

science he and the puritans pretended to, because, as a minister, he was not animated by the meek and merciful spirit of the gospel; for, he encouraged the soldiers to storm a town, and led armies to battle." If Lord Clarendon could be serious in such an accusation of Mr. Peters, he ought to have also censured the great and truly Reverend Chillingworth, who, led away by his party spirit, forgot he was a minister of the Prince of Peace, and attended the king's army before Gloucester, where he suggested the making of some engines after the manner of the Roman *testudines cum pluteis*—Maizeaux's Life of Chillingworth, page 280, and Rushworth's History, part 3, volume 2, page 290. Indeed, the fact was, the clergy on both sides addicted themselves to fight and pray in behalf of their respective parties. But the crime of Mr. Peters consisted in his being a better general in the pulpit, and in the field of battle, than were the king's chaplains; and it was well known to parliament and their generals, that the good character and shining abilities of Mr. Peters, in the opinion of the people, greatly promoted their cause, and gave it success and national applause; and General Monk, after he deserted the king's party, was as fond of the aid and interest of Hugh Peters, as other parliamentary generals were. General Monk continued the admiring friend of Mr. Peters until 1660, when he sold him and the puritan cause to Charles the Second for a dukedom, and an estate. Perhaps the general acted on another motive, such as governed Judas,

who hung himself to ease his conscience, for the sin of betraying his master. General Monk, after deserting Charles the First, did as much harm to the royal cause as laid in his power; and Mr. Peters, who never deserted Charles the First, did no more: yet General Monk was put in the calendar of Charles the Second as a saint, who wanted no absolution; and Mr. Peters was put to death for the crime of treason, which was not proved against him.

Bishop Burnet tells us, that "Hugh Peters had been outrageous in pressing the king's death, with the cruelty and rudeness of an inquisitor"—Vol. 1, p. 264. Dr. Barwick says, "Hugh Peters was, upon no slight grounds accused as having been one of the king's murderers, though it could not be sufficiently proved against him"—p. 296.

Let us see what Mr. John Oldmixon says: "Mr. Hugh Peters was chaplain to Oliver Cromwell, a great meddler in state affairs, very pragmatical and impertinent; he was not at all concerned in the king's death; if King Charles the Second had regarded the promises in his declaration, to pardon all but those that were, his life had been saved. To hang him for his impertinence only, was a precedent that, for their own sake, those then at the helm should have avoided"—Vol. 1, p. 85. In the Trial of the Regicides, p. 159, we find that one Mr. Starkey swore, in 1660, that Mr. Peters said, in a sermon twelve or fourteen years back, "that the king was a tyrant and a fool; that he was not fit to be a king; that the

office was dangerous, useless, and chargeable ;" and in page 166, another person swore, that Mr. Peters, in a sermon before the king's trial, addressed the house of parliament in these terms : " My lords, and you noble gentlemen, it is from you we chiefly look for justice. Do not prefer the great Barrabbas, a murderer, tyrant and traitor, before these poor hearts, (pointing to the red coats) and the army, who are our saviours." In page 168, another swore, that Mr. Peters said, in a sermon before Cromwell and Bradshaw, " Here is a great discourse and talk in the world ; what! will ye cut off the heads of kings? Turn to your bibles, and ye shall find it there, *whosoever sheds man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed.* I see neither King Charles, Prince Charles, Prince Rupert, Prince Maurice, or any of that rabble excepted in it." Many similar things were sworn against Mr. Peters at his trial. Those witnesses had strong and long memories, and paid much more attention to sermons at that period, than people now do, otherwise they could not have remembered the words of Mr. Peters fifteen or twenty years after being uttered ; and the judges and jury had great confidence in their veracity and candour, or they would have considered their testimony as a *vox clamantis in deserto.* Mr. Peters denied most part of their depositions, yet the court and jury readily condemned him as a traitor ; though, if every word had been spoken which the witnesses swore to, they did not constitute treason by the English law.

Next let us hear Mr. Peters speak for himself. "I had access to the king; he used me civilly; I, in requital, offered my poor thoughts three times for his safety; I never had hand in contriving, or acting his death, as I am scandalized, but the contrary, to my mean power"—Legacy, page 102. Well might Mr. Peters think the act of indemnity included him.

That Mr. Peters was useful and serviceable to the king during his confinement is proved by Whitlock, page 370. "Upon a conference between the king and Mr. Hugh Peters, and the king desiring one of his chaplains might be permitted to come to him for his satisfaction in some scruples of conscience, Dr. Juxon, Bishop of London, was ordered to go to his majesty."

Sir John Denham, in his Epistle dedicated to Charles the Second, says: "I was instructed by the queen to deliver a message to his majesty, who was at that time in the hands of the army; I got admittance to the king by the assistance of Mr. Hugh Peters."

These were kind and considerable services, and could not have been expected or obtained from a man who was, as bishop Burnet writes, "outrageous in pressing the king's death, with the cruelty and rudeness of an inquisitor." Bishop Burnet was never remarkable in speaking truth and soft words respecting those he disliked. As to Dr. Barwick's supposition, that Hugh Peters was one of the king's mur-

derers, the very court and jury, and the king's counsel, who tried and condemned him, gave no credit to after hearing the testimony of his servant, viz. "that on the day the king suffered, Mr. Hugh Peters was sick and kept his chamber." Dr. Barwick, therefore, should not have written, "that Mr. Peters was, upon no slight grounds, accused to have been one of the king's murderers."

It is evident Mr. Peters too much fell in with the times, and like Dr. Barwick, and all true court chaplains, applauded and justified what his and their masters did, or intended to do; but nevertheless, it never appeared that Peters urged them beforehand to do it—whilst there is every reason to believe Peters would have been pleased with an agreement between the king and parliament, "as he had three times waited on the king, and offered his thoughts for his safety"—finally, no agreement taking place, Peters adhered to the interest of parliament, which justified his integrity and wisdom.

Mr. Peters was not peculiar in his conduct. The clergy on the side of the king were staunch, and admitted no error in the royal party, and no honesty in the party of the parliament. Hence we see the clergy on both sides, were the men who stirred up the civil war, and filled the land with tumults and seditions, until at length they became contemptible, and suffered the fate attached to folly and villainy.

The bishops and star-chamber court fell together, and a new order in the church became legal.

The new intendants were called "Triers for the ministry." These triers were men authorised by Oliver Cromwell to try the abilities of all who entered into the ministry, and likewise the capacity of such others as were invited to new churches. This was in imitation of Henry the Eighth, at the Reformation, in 1535, who authorised Thomas Cromwell to try the clergy, and to ordain ministers for vacant churches.

These institutions, in themselves, were civil and decent.

Mr. Hugh Peters was appointed one of those intendants, or triers for the ministry, and a commissioner for amending the laws, at which the friends of the late bishops and the star-chamber court, were not highly gratified.

How well these triers managed the business, every one will judge for himself. Mr. Calamy's Life of How, page 21, says, they used to ask such as came before them, "whether they had ever any experience of a work of grace on their hearts," and according as they could answer, they were received or rejected.—They seldom examined them in the languages, divinity and morality—things of great importance with a definite meaning. Had those triers adopted St. Paul's directions to Timothy, they would have been more easily understood: "Whether they were blameless, husbands of one wife, vigilant, sober, of good behaviour, given to hospitality, apt to teach, not given

to wine, no strikers, not greedy of filthy lucre, patient, not brawlers, not covetous, whether they ruled well their own houses, and had a good report of them which were without." 1st Tim. ch. 3, 2d & 7th verses.

Shall we not think those triers fell into the opinion of the protestants and catholics of ancient and modern times, who truly say: it is a long time ago that these were the qualifications required and expected from clergymen.

Supposing those triers were mystical—have not, for ages past, subscriptions to doubtful articles of faith (declarations very difficult to be made by understanding minds, and the shibboleth of the prevailing party in the church) been the things required and insisted on? Has it not come to pass, from such subscriptions, that many of our divines understand not the scriptures, and neither know nor practice the pure and genuine christianity.

A wise, virtuous, and prudent clergy, is the glory and happiness of a community. Too much care cannot be taken to procure it.

But if bishops, intendants, or triers, neglect the means of doing this, and admit all who are presented to the ministry; if they will make use of the terms and phrases in fashion, whether the candidates understand them or not, they merit censure, and should be answerable for the sad effects which flow from ignorance, folly, and vice. No reflection is intended on any particular denomination of triers, in whose hands the government of the church is lodged, but a general

hint to all, to consider whether too much carelessness has not been adopted in the examination of young men for ordination. We know that from the Reformation in 1535, many have been authorised as clergymen who were perfectly unqualified to teach and instruct, and who had never studied the holy scriptures. Thomas Cromwell, the minister of Henry the Eighth, was by royal commission made the trier, or intendant of the church of England, and he ordained and filled the church with such clergymen as did sign and declare "the pope was an heretic, and that all ecclesiastical and spiritual power was derived and deducted from the king, and only from the king." Afterwards, bishops were, by royal commission, empowered to ordain and fill the church with clergymen, who did sign the same, and declared they believed thirty-nine articles, which no one has been yet able to explain or understand. The consequence was, a new reformation was deemed necessary by part of the reformed, who were called puritans, because they set aside the rules of Cromwell and the bishops, and instituted one of their own, but as much unlike the rule of St. Paul as those used by Cromwell and the bishops; of course, neither party need quarrel with the other, and have agreed only in one opinion, that the qualifications required and expected from clergymen in the days of St. Paul, nearly eighteen hundred years ago, are state beauties, and not necessary in the ages of modern reformation.

Another charge against Mr. Hugh Peters, was, that "he was a commissioner of parliament for amending the laws," for which his enemies can never forgive him. This certainly was a work difficult to effect, as Mr. Baxter said of the prayer book of the church of England, "a thing impossible to be done." He therefore proposed to burn it and make a new one.

To mend the laws made by Henry the Eighth, Edward the Sixth, Queen Mary, Elizabeth, James the First, and Charles the First, all in opposition and contradiction to each other, would require the wisdom of Solon and his industry, at least for one hundred and ten years, and after all, new ones would be better. But the commissioners commenced their task, and what they did was a proof of their good sense and concern for the welfare of the people and kingdom.

Mr. Peters in his Legacy, page 109, with modesty and openness thus expresses himself: "When I was a trier of others, I went to hear and gain experience rather than to judge. When I was called about mending laws, I was there rather to pray, than to mend laws: but in all these, I confess, I might as well have been spared. His ingenuous confession of ignorance and inability with regard to law matters, Whitworth, page 521, confirms. But his modest confession of it cannot please modern bishops employed in such matters, who chuse to boast of the share they have in such business, though they might as well be spared, and employed in religious matters. In this committee with Mr. Peters, were Mr. Foun-

tain, Mr. Rushworth, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, afterwards Earl of Shaftsbury and Lord Chancellor, besides many others of rank and figure, which sharpened the envy of the fallen bishops and the inferior clergy. This committee was appointed Jan. 20, 1651, to take into consideration, 1st. What inconveniences were in the law; 2d. How the mischiefs that grow from delays, and the chargeableness and irregularities in the proceedings of the law may be prevented; 3d. The speediest way to prevent the same.—This committee was impeded much by reason of the hurry of the times, and the violent opposition which the lawyers made to it. However, the parliament, about this time, made an excellent ordinance, that did honour to their heads and hearts, viz. "That all the books of the law should be put into English, and that all writs, process, and returns thereof, and all patents, commissions, indictments, judgments, records, and all rules and proceedings in courts of justice, shall be in the English tongue only." The human mind is surprised at finding so good a law discontinued after the restoration of Charles the Second; an age in which every good thing was disused, if it had been used and enacted by the lord protector, Oliver Cromwell, and the parliament.

Hence is visible the cause of the general depravity of manners, and neglect of the holy scriptures, under the reigns of Charles the Second and James the Second, which terminated in a glorious revolution, and constituted by English law, the rights of the people consisting in chusing their chief magistrate, and in

raising him to the title of lord protector, king, emperor, or president.

The prejudices which governed Charles the Second were fatal to puritans, morality, and christianity, as well as to all laws made by the lord protector and his parliament. Yet, Charles the Second, General Monk, and their associates, were not totally prejudiced against all actions and conquests made by the lord protector and his parliament, as we see they could retain Jamaica taken from the Spaniards by them. This conduct of Charles the Second proves an error in the epitaph made on him by the Earl of Rochester:

> "Here lies our sovereign lord the king,
> "Whose word no man relied on;
> "Who never said a foolish thing,
> "And never did a wise one."

Instead of blaming Hugh Peters and the committee for mending laws, we should pray that the spirit of true patriotism might possess the breasts of our present senators, and direct them to appoint a committee of wise and prudent persons once more to revise, amend, and abridge our laws, that we might know how to act without being under the necessity of using those men who live on our spoils. The kings of Denmark and Prussia, have long since given the world an example, and the happiness of every community depends on such perfection.

Another charge against Mr. Hugh Peters by the friends of Archbishop Laud, was, "his great and many public vices." Let us see whether he was guilty or not.

In the life of Dr. Barwick, page 155—6, it is written, "The wild prophecies uttered by the impure mouth of Hugh Peters, were still received by the people with the same veneration as if they had been oracles, though he was known to be infamous for more than one kind of wickedness: a fact which Milton did not dare to deny, when he purposely wrote his apology, for this very end, to defend even by name, the very blackest of the conspirators, and Hugh Peters among the chief of them, who were accused of manifest impieties by their adversaries." Bishop Burnet, in his history, vol. 1, p. 264, says, "Hugh Peters was a very vicious man." Longbaine, p. 339, in the Dramatic Poets, hints at something about "an affair Peters had with a butcher's wife, of the parish of St. Sepulchre." These assertions and hints were never supported by any evidence, and have lived upon the reports of those sworn enemies of Mr. Peters.

Mr. Peters was not insensible of the ill character given to him by the opposite party, for he took notice of them to his daughter in his Legacy, p. 106, and called them reproaches, on account of his great zeal in the cause of parliament, and says, "By my zeal, it seems, I have exposed myself to all manner of reproaches, but wish you to know, that, besides your mother, I have had no fellowship that way with any woman since I knew her, having had a godly wife before her also, I bless God." No man is allowed to be a witness in his own cause; and the same law allows not hints and charges of adversaries to be any proof. Let candour and reason judge. See Mr

Peters loaded with an accusation of high treason, and suffering as a traitor; see, how high ran the party spirit; and see how revenge actuated the breasts of those who ruled in 1660, and no one can wonder at seeing him traduced and blackened far beyond his deserts.

The like circumstances happened when Laud, Strafford, and Charles the First, suffered on the scaffold. Whether such events happen from the weakness of human nature, or from the policy of the ruling powers of England, will not be decided, but every one knows it to be a fashion in England to load with reproaches all those condemned to die by the courts of law, which is no great argument in favour of civilization, christianity, or humanity.

It is no easy matter to prove assertions and accusations, and it is almost impossible to prove a negative, except by proving an alibi. As to the concurring declarations of writers against the character of Hugh Peters, it proves nothing, only that the writers are of the same party as those who first made and published the reproaches, and never proved them. The accusations against Hugh Peters came from known enemies, who hated the cause he was engaged in, therefore they were willing to blacken the actors in it, and were ready to believe any evil they heard of them. This ought and will lessen the weight of their declarations, and dispose all candid people to think they have misrepresented the characters of their opponents. Dr. Barwick appears, at the first sight, to be an angry and partial writer, and Bishop Burnet

never gave his antagonists a decent word. They were both enemies of the republican party, and neither of them knew any thing of Peters, and therefore, what they wrote they took from common fame, whose reports savour more of envy than truth.

What stands greatly in favour of Peters, and militates against his calumniators, is the time in which he lived; a time in which public vice, in the ministerial character, was not favoured, but decried more than in any age since the birth of Christ. He must be a novice, indeed, in the history of those times, who knows not what precise, demure kind of men, the preachers among the parliamentarians were.—They were careful not only of their actions, but also of their words and looks, and did not allow themselves even the innocent gaieties and pleasures of life. I do not say they were as good as they pretended to be; but this I say, they might be, and no one has any right to say otherwise, unless from overt acts proved against them.

Their enemies delighted in calling them proud, conceited, censorious, uncharitable, avaricious, and hypocritical, but the people best acquainted with them believed the contrary; and as to drunkenness, whoredom, adultery, and swearing, too common among the royal party, they were perfectly out of vogue among the puritan clergy, nor were such evils suffered in them by the people. Hence we see, that if their hearts and inclinations were vicious, they

were obliged to conceal and keep them from the eye of the public.

It was their sobriety of behaviour, their strictness of conversation, joined with their popular talents in the pulpit, that created so much respect and caused such a regard to be paid to their advice and direction. The fact was, the people greatly revered them, and were absolutely under their government; and we know the leading men in the house of commons, and those who had the administration of affairs after the king's death, courted and professed to admire them. Hence it was that men of such sense as Pym, Hampden, Holles, Whitlock, Selden, St. John, Cromwell, &c. &c. attended their prayers and sermons day after day; hence it was, that men of the greatest note viewed it as an honour to set with the assembly of divines, and treated them with the highest deference and regard.

If Mr. Peters had been a man so vicious as he has been represented, he could have had no influence over the people, nor would he have been treated by the rulers of the land in the manner he was; they must have parted with him to keep up their own credit, or been looked on as enemies to godliness. But Mr. Peters was caressed by the rulers of the nation; his sermons and prayers were received as oracles by the people, for more than twenty years; and he was of infinite service to Cromwell and the senate—of course he was not and could not publicly "be known to be infamous for more than one kind of wickedness," as

Barwick virulently asserted. Too much faith is as bad as infidelity, and to give a false character of a dead man, is murdering him a second time.

The character of the patrons of Hugh Peters, besides the whole body of puritans in Old and New England, renders the account of his public wickedness perfectly false. We have seen that the Earl of Warwick, Sir Thomas Fairfax, and Oliver Cromwell, were his patrons, and that the parliament caressed and rewarded him for his services. How could he then be infamous for wickedness.

His patrons supported characters equally good as that of St. Augustine, or any in Fox's Book of Martyrs. Their enemies never accused them of personal vices; they made high pretensions to religion, and the cause they fought for, they talked of as the cause of God. Now, in the name of common sense, with what face could they have done all these things, if Hugh Peters, their chaplain, their confident, and archintendant, had been known to be a very vicious man? And how could they have talked and acted against scandalous ministers, and at the same time employed one the most scandalous? How could the parliament publicly reward Mr. Peters, when they professed great zeal for godliness, and daily exerted themselves to promote it to the highest pitch? A man must have more faith than is necessary to move mountains, to believe such men of wisdom as were Cromwell and the parliament, capable of acting

so inconsistent a part; their whole conduct proves they could not be guilty of it.

From these considerations it is but reasonable to believe, that Mr. H. Peters has been charged unjustly with great and public vices, and has been murdered a second time by false and malicious accusations.

Hugh Peters, in his Legacy, p. 104 and 106, says, "I thought the act of indemnity would have included me, but the hard character upon me excluded me. I never had my hand in any man's blood, but saved many in life and estate." He certainly had as much reason to think he should have escaped as many others. Those words have given offence to his calumniators and executioners. Let us see the truth and judge.

All that was laid to the charge of Hugh Peters, was words. Lord Strafford, on his trial before the bar of the house of lords, says, "No statute makes words treason;" yet Mr. Peters was found guilty of treason for words only; while Harry Martyn, John Goodwin, and John Milton, who spoke most severely and reproachfully, and vindicated the putting to death Charles the First in their public writings, (and Martyn was one of the king's judges, and signed the warrant for his execution) were preserved both in life and fortune. If this was the result of mercy, Peters had greater reason to expect a share in that royal mercy, for he was more innocent; yet he fell without mercy. And why was this royal par-

tiality ? Bishop Burnet, if credit can be given to his writings, more than hints the cause : he says, "Martyn escaped for his vices, and Goodwin for having been a zealous arminian, and a sower of division among the sectaries"—vol. 1, p. 265 : but the bishop gives no cause why Milton escaped, while others assigned his "Paradise lost," and saving the life of William Davenant, as the cause ; yet Peters, who had saved many a life and estate, was forgotten by those whom in their distresses he had served, and was inhumanly executed. Why was this partiality shewn ? No better answer can be given, than that Peters had seen Archbishop Laud, his great antagonist and persecutor, die on a scaffold by the sentence of the house of lords ; and had been archintendant of the sectaries and puritan church for above twenty years. He had also out-preached and outlived the bishops and their clergy ; had assisted in putting aside the common prayer-book, and was one of that assembly of divines at the Savoy, who put forth a new confession of faith, which recognised Jesus Christ to be the only head of the christian church, from whom alone is derived and deduced all spiritual and ecclesiastical power. Hugh Peters had also deserted the ceremonies and bishops of the church of England, and, like Dr. Burnet, who deserted the kirk of Scotland and James the Second, to be made bishop of Salisbury, so he and the bishop put themselves beyond the mercy of the church and kirk : and finally, General Monk, (whose promotion and success in the parliamentary army arose from the interest and

power of Hugh Peters) preferred a *ducal coronet* to the life of Hugh Peters, to honour, and to gratitude. Considering these things, who can say that Mr. Peters had not reason to think the act of indemnity would have included *him*. All but the judges and the killers of Charles the First, were included in the act of indemnity. What was the crime alleged against Peters? It was justifying and magnifying the king's death by words only. The doctrine of Montague, Sibthorp, and Manwaring, which set the king above all laws, and gave him power to act as he pleased, was much worse. The opinion of the judges in the time of Charles the First, gave for law, "that the king might take from his subjects without consent of parliament, and dispense with the laws enacted by it." Depriving the people of their rights and liberties, and persuading the king of the justice of doing so, was a higher crime in the judges, than magnifying the extirpation of all the kings under heaven; and what was the punishment of those judges, who magnified the destruction of the rights and liberties of the people? Not a man of them graced the gallows, though they deserved it much more than Hugh Peters did for magnifying the rights and liberties of the people.

This conclusion necessarily follows, that Peters suffered more than others, yet had done less to deserve it. His sufferings, therefore, were severe, hard, and rigorous, as well as contrary to the act of indemnity.

Mr. Peters, at his trial, thus plead in his own defence: "The war began whilst I was in America, and before I had any concern with it. Since my arrival in England, I have endeavoured to promote sound religion, the reformation of learning, the law, and the employment of the poor; and the better to effect these things, I espoused the interest of parliament, in which I have acted without malice, avarice, or ambition. Whatever prejudices or passions may possess the minds of men, yet there is a God who knows these things to be true."

The temper of the people at the restoration, shews what justice and mercy were in vogue. After Chief Justice Coke was hanged, cut down, and embowelled, Mr. Hugh Peters was ordered by the sheriff to be brought to see the mangled body, and the executioner went to Peters, rubbing his bloody hands, and said, "Mr. Peters, how do you like this work?" Mr. Peters replied, "I am not in the least terrified, and you may do your worst." When he was on the ladder, he said to the sheriff, "Sir, you have butchered one of the servants of God before my eyes, and have forced me to see it, in order to terrify and discourage me; but God has permitted it for my support and encouragement"—Trial of the Regicides. Such usage was not peculiar to Mr. Peters, for the royal party, by order of the court of Charles the Second, took the sacred ashes of Admiral Blake out of his grave, and cast them into the pit of common filth. General Thomas Harrison, the presbyterian ministers, and all the parliamentarians, were (dead

or living) treated in a similar manner, and their names profaned in history by Lord Clarendon, bishop Burnet and others, who were as devoid of veracity as of justice and mercy. Men guilty of such impious and detestable actions, were the very men Clarendon and Burnet falsely call "the wise, the sober, the virtuous, the generous, the brave, the humane, the honourable," and at the same time stigmatise Hugh Peters, Mr. Baxter, Dr. Calamy, and the rest of the assembly of divines; Oliver Cromwell, and all people on the side of parliament, with the epithets "infamous, ignorant, profane, proud, impudent, hypocritical, vicious, low-born, canting, sordid, inhuman, mastiff-dogs."

All candid readers will make some allowance for the language and wrath of those false brethren, when they shall recollect, that Lord Clarendon was proscribed by parliament for his crimes and wicked counsel to the king; and Dr. Burnet was excommunicated by the kirk of Scotland for his desertion from the solemn league and covenant, and for his doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance to the will of kings. As to the word *infamous*, being given to Hugh Peters and the assembly of divines, by Clarendon and his party, it may be imputed to the fashion of the court and church after the restoration, seeing Lord Clarendon calls Mr. John Wild, a serjeant at law, and appointed by Charles the Second one of the commissioners of the great seal, the infamous, ignorant, and low-born. To understand the meaning of the words infamous, ignorant, and low-

born, in Lord Clarendon's sense, it seems necessary to inquire who Mr. John Wild was by birth and education. Wood says, vol. 2, p. 532: "He was son of Mr. Serjeant George Wild, of Droitwich, in Worcestershire. He was chosen reader of the inner-temple; made a serjeant at law; lord chief baron of the exchequer; and by Charles the Second, was appointed one of the commissioners of the great seal. From this reverend and learned judge descends Lord Delaware." Mr. Wood also tells us, whence and who Lord Clarendon was, viz. "Mr. Edward Hyde was son of Mr. Henry Hyde, of Pyrton, in Wiltshire. He stood for a fellowship of Exeter College, but was put aside; he was made a barrister of the middle temple; he had the great seal given to him by Charles the Second, was made Sir Edward Hyde, Lord Hindon, and Earl of Clarendon." By this contrast, the reader will see the propriety of Lord Clarendon's calling Baron Wild "infamous, ignorant, and low-born." He could not do so, from the superiority of his own station, or quality, to that of Baron Wild. Perhaps we may find the cause of his doing so, in vol. 3, part 2, of Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, viz. "The Hydes were always a malignant family;" and Rushworth, Whitlocke, and other faithful historians say: "To the malignants, were owing all the miseries of the civil war, between Charles the First and his parliament. Who were the malignants? Strafford, Laud, Digby, Wren, &c. the

advisers of the king to destroy his subjects by arms, for not submitting to illegal taxes;" or the Earl of Warwick, Fairfax, Cromwell, Peters, &c. "who advised the king to redress all grievances, spiritual and temporal, and to secure the state and church against the like for the future?" If it is honourable to receive a long descent from noble ancestors, whose actions were good and successful, Lord Clarendon cannot boast of that glory with so much propriety as those he stiles low-born, ignorant, and infamous.

If it is infamous to suffer on a scaffold, or by banishment, then Strafford, Laud, and Clarendon, are as infamous as General Harrison, Judge Coke, and Hugh Peters. Lord Digby, who, as well as Sir Edward Hyde, advised Charles the First to declare war against his parliament, lived long enough to see his error, and to accuse the Earl of Clarendon of injustice and tyranny, before the house of peers, A. D. 1663, and the consequence was, Lord Clarendon retired to Rouen, in Normandy, where he died in 1674. This event was not caused by the party spirit which reigned during the civil war; but by the injustice and tyranny of Lord Clarendon, complained of and punished by his old friends, Lord Digby and General Monk, who are part of those called by Lord Clarendon, "The sober, the virtuous, the brave, the humane, the generous, the honourable." Of course, Lord Clarendon received no greater injustice in being banished, than Mr. Thomas Scott, one of the regicides, and one of Lord Clarendon's "infamous mas-

tiff dogs," for being executed in 1660, by the treachery of General Monk.

Hugh Peters is described by Lord Clarendon to be "a weak, ignorant, and zealous man," which made him a proper tool for the use of an "infamous parliament, a vicious army, and a hypocritical assembly of divines." Mr. Peters confessed, as we have already seen, "his own weakness, ignorance, and zeal." Admitting it to be true, even in the sense of Burnet and Clarendon, what had these imperfections to do with treason? To give treasonable advice to the king makes a man a traitor, and the legal punishment of it is death. Hugh Peters and the parliament never gave treasonable advice to the king; but Strafford, Lord Digby, Sir Edward Hyde, &c. &c. gave treasonable advice to the king: "They advised him to destroy his subjects by arms, for resisting illegal taxes." See the trial of Lord Strafford. The king followed their advice, which brought on the civil war between him and his parliament. During the war, neither party well considered the divine sentiment of Archbishop Tillotson, viz. "There is no readier way for a man to bring his own worth into question, than by endeavouring to detract from the worth of other men." Both parties supported themselves by help of the clergy, detraction, and the sword; both parties accused each other of treason and illegal practices; and both were right in their accusations—for when the king acted independent of his parliament, he became guilty of treason; and when the parliament

acted independent of the king, they became guilty of treason also, because both parties, in that case, acted contrary to the English law and constitution, which they had sworn inviolably to maintain.

Both parties acted as much in opposition to the constitution as they did to one another. Calling themselves protestants, they had no pope to be their umpire; therefore each party elected the sword for umpire, and "the sword of the Lord and of Gideon," had no concern in the decision.

In this awful dilemma, self-preservation necessarily became the ultimate and omnipotent argument, and both parties killed and hanged one another for murder and treason, according to their respective laws and opinions. At length the king's head was brought to the block, and General Monk said, "and justly too." Yet in May, 1660, General Monk addressed Charles the Second on his restoration, and for doing so, was made a duke and had 10,000l. a year pension.

Colonel Ingolsby, one who signed the warrant to cut off the head of Charles the First, joined with Gen. Monk in restoring Charles the Second, but instead of being hanged for treason and murder, he was made a knight of the bath at the coronation of king Charles the Second. These are the two honest, wise, virtuous, and honourable men, in Clarendon and Burnet's History, whilst Hugh Peters, Judge Coke, General Harrison, &c. &c. are called not wise, not honest, not virtuous, not honourable, but infamous, weak, ignorant, and zealous. The truth is, those zealous,

weak, and ignorant men, had good characters; had fought for the protestant religion; for the liberty of conscience; for the rights of the people; and had too much conscience, humanity, and honour, to betray their trust as Monk, Ingolsby, and others did, for titles and pensions. They chose to suffer death rather than shipwreck faith and a good conscience, and by so doing, they proved their weakness was wisdom in martyrdom, and all honest men have given and will give them a canonization with Charles the First and other servants of honesty and honour.

"The children of this world are wiser than the children of light:" So Clarendon, Monk, and Ingolsby, were wiser than Laud, Peters, Coke, and Charles the First, who were not infamous in death. O let my end be like theirs, is the wish of every honest man.

It is to be remembered, that during the civil war, the English constitution was no rule for either party, for each had its own constitution, viz. the sword, self-preservation, and revenge. The party conquering was right, and the party conquered was wrong. In the times of civil and ecclesiastical commotion, law and gospel are disregarded; contempt is poured on kings; princes and nobles are held in derision; and men say and do what they please.

Wisdom and prudence teach all parties to overlook and forgive such fits of insanity; for were those concerned in them punished, the whole country would be turned into shambles.

Hugh Peters took no greater liberties in England, than the preachers in France, during the reign of Henry the Third, "when the college of Sorbonne, by common consent, concluded that the French were discharged from the oath of allegiance to Henry the Third, and that they might arm themselves in opposition to him." Maimburgh's Hist. p. 432 and 437. In consequence of this, the people vented their rage against him, and called him tyrant and apostate; the curates, also, refused absolution to all those who would not renounce him. "The same Sorbonnists decreed all those who favoured the party of Henry the Fourth to be in a mortal sin, and liable to damnation; and to all who resisted him, champions of the faith, and to be rewarded with a crown of martyrdom."—p. 805. These decrees produced horrible effects, yet Henry, after establishing himself on the throne, called none of these clergy to an account, nor executed any one of them. That prince was truly wise, generous, brave, and honourable, and soberly considered the times and provocations. No doubt but Charles the Second would have pursued the same steps with Henry the Fourth, had he not been advised to the contrary by Lord Clarendon, General Monk, Ingolsby, Sir Ashley Cowper, and other malignant and treacherous characters, whose ambition led them to ingratitude, injustice, and tyranny, over their betrayed and deserted friends.

Considering what had passed in France, and what was written in the act of indemnity, Mr. Peters could

not be blamed for his weakness, ignorance, and zeal, in believing the act of indemnity included him, and excluded only the judges of king Charles the First.

Parker, Clarendon, and other enemies to Hugh Peters and the puritans, tell us ridiculous tales unworthy of history, to criminate Peters and his party as fanatics, or lunatics. It is, however, no sign of great wisdom in those grave and noble historians to relate idle stories, with a view to disgrace the understanding, or impeach the honesty of parties. For credulous people are to be found on all sides.

The reader has a right to laugh at the stories invented to ridicule Peters and his party, suffering for what they called, "conscience, religion, and the rights of the people." Parker's History, p. 23, gives an account of a number of prodigies which attended Hugh Peters going to be executed, in October, 1660, which the fanatics published for two years together, with a view of promoting sedition. "On the way from Newgate to Charing-Cross, appeared two suns; ships sailing in the air; a bloody rain-bow; it rained stones; a lamb with two heads; cathedral churches every where set on fire by lightning; an ox that spoke; a hen turned into a cock; a mule brought forth; five beautiful young men stood by the regicides while they suffered; a very bright star shone round the heads and quarters, that were stuck upon the city gates; a certain person rejoicing at the execution of General Thomas Harrison, one of the king's judges, was struck with a sudden palsy; ano-

ther, inveighing against Hugh Peters as he was going to the gibbet, was torn and almost killed by his own tame and favourite dog," with many other lies.—Parker and Clarendon have omitted to relate the prodigy that took place in London, a little before the restoration, which well matches this story, and is equally ridiculous, yet the relater of it is Dr. Bramhall, bishop, and the bishop says, "he cannot esteem it less than a miracle." Ormond's Papers, vol. 2, p. 208.

The bishop's story is: "A child was born in London with a double or divided tongue, which, the third day after it was born, cried out, a king, a king, a king, and bid them bring it to the king. The mother of the child said it told her of all that happened in England since, and much more, which she dare not utter. A gentleman in the company, took the child in his arms, and gave it money, and asked what he would do with it? to which the child answered aloud, I will give it to the king."

By this prodigy bishop Bramhall and others, meant to prove the divine right of kings in England, and to enable General Monk, Colonel Ingolsby, and Sir Ashley Cowper, to restore the king, nobles, and bishops, and to massacre Hugh Peters and other puritan republicans. Such ridiculous trifles, shew the wickedness of the human heart, and are worthy to be inserted in Parker's history of his own time.

Hugh Peters is also said to be a tool to Cromwell's party, and of consequence, a weak man. Peters,

with all his weakness, was well qualified to be employed as he was, by Cromwell and the parliament, but not weak enough in talents to be duped and overcome by all the bishops in the king's army. It is a singular saying of the royal party, that Peters conquered archbishop Laud and his clergy, by his ignorance and zeal. If this be true, it is evident the knowledge and lukewarmness of bishop Laud and his clergy were not so valuable as the weakness, ignorance, and zeal, of Hugh Peters.

Admitting Peters to be a tool of knaves, therefore of weak understanding, it necessarily follows, that bishop Laud was a tool to Lord Strafford and his wise party, therefore Dr. Laud was a man of weak understanding. Hence we find two fools, Laud and Peters, the instruments of two armies of knaves. Be this as it may, it proves more than Lord Clarendon and Parker wished or have allowed, and what no one but a bigot or a fool will ever admit or believe. The patrons and friends of Laud and Peters, were wise and great men, and perfectly knew their characters and worth; and for their talents, wisdom, and religion, employed them as arch-intendants of their respective parties.

The faults of Peters and Laud, no doubt were many, and "I bear them record, that they had a zeal for God, but not according to knowledge," and they both suffered death to satisfy the wrath of parties, for crimes they knew not.

Hugh Peters is also criminated for meddling with things which no ways belonged to the pulpit. Lord Clarendon has not brought another just charge against him, in his verbose History of the Rebellion, and if his lordship had been candid, he would not have brought this.

Why should Hugh Peters and the puritan clergy be impeached for going out of their province, while Dr. Laud and his clergy did the same thing, and offended not Lord Clarendon.

All preachers ought to instruct the people in piety and virtue. And in civil matters, their business is to promote peace and happiness, by exhorting rulers to govern with moderation, equity, and law; and the governed to obey with willingness and pleasure.—When they confine themselves within these bounds, they merit praise and will obtain it; but when they mix with civil factions to promote hatred, strife, and contention, they merit contempt, and seldom miss it, even by their own party after the dispute is ended.

Had Dr. Laud and Mr Peters not engaged themselves in parties, they would have supported the dignity of their characters as ministers of the prince of peace, and not have been made the sport of ambitious and self-interested men.

The fate of these two eminent men should be a warning to the clergy of all denominations, yet few have ears to hear. And why! The answer is, no men in the world are less inclined to hearken to ad-

vice than the clergy of all denominations. Not because they are worse than other men, but because they are puffed up with a conceit of their own knowledge and abilities, and being accustomed to dictate without controul from the pulpit, they listen to instruction and persuasion with contempt. For this reason, such cautions have been given in vain.

The fate of the clergy, since the Reformation, in 1535, has not deterred them, but they have uniformly engaged in civil factions, and kindled such discords in christendom, as the Gentile race happily are strangers to.

Regardless of the fate of Laud and Peters, and many others in the civil war after the Restoration, the pulpits sounded loud with, "the doctrines of the divine right of kings, and passive obedience and non-resistance to their wills and laws," and the presbyterians (the authors of the Restoration) were represented as villains and schismatics; the power of the church of England was magnified, and the regal power was held up to be as sacred as that of God. Then Samuel Parker, bishop of Oxford, so made for his services, and his fellows, sprung up full of venom, zeal, and rage, and treated all who opposed them with ill manners, defamation, and cruel severity. Then Dr. Hicks, in his Jovian, pronounced Englishmen to be slaves, and the infamous decrees of Oxford were framed, which were justly burnt by decree of the greatest assembly in the nation, in 1710, to the immortal honour of queen Anne's reign.

The bishops and their clergy stood firm by the Duke of York, (afterwards king James II.) and condemned the bill of exclusion. Their behaviour subjected them to national contempt and severity; yet when James II. was king, and a sworn Roman catholic, they continued to act the same part, and would have continued his firm friends, had he followed their advice and not given liberty to the dissenters, nor touched their most tender part, even their interest, or revenue, by appointing some popish persons to be rectors in their colleges. These things alarmed them, and their opinions were changed from passive obedience and non-resistance, into the doctrine of resistance to the divine power of kings. They then adopted the very doctrine of Hugh Peters and the parliament, which destroyed Charles the First and his wicked advisers. They sent for the Prince of Orange, fought and prayed for his success. He came and delivered them out of the hands of their king, "clothed with divine power, sacred as that of God himself," or bishop Laud, bishop Wren, and Sir Edward Hyde, were in an error, and Hugh Peters and Cromwell were in the right.

After this glorious deliverance, the bishops and clergy of the church of England would not be quiet nor thankful. Numbers of them refused to own his government, calling it no better than the usurpation of Cromwell and his parliament, and joined in measures to restore the tyrant and catholic James, by

doing all in their power to blacken and distress their protestant deliverer.

Leslie, Sacheveral, &c. &c. laboured much to inculcate on men's minds the danger of the church of England, from the design of the protestant dissenters, and the protestant ministry, and had too much success; though the presbyterians and puritan dissenters were joint agitators with the bishops and their clergy in the revolution of 1688, and were well paid for their good services.

Dr. Burnet and Dr. John Tillotson, two of the presbyterian ministers, were created bishops in the church of England by King William III. and those two bishops never shewed the church of England was in danger by their want of abilities and zeal in its support.

When the protestant succession in the house of Hanover took place, it was railed at, and even cursed by those men, and many of them attempted to bring back the tyrant James with his popish faith and ceremonies. Their endeavours were not successful, but in their own ruin. The Rev. Mr. Paul lost his life at the gallows, and Dr. Atterbury, bishop of Rochester, was banished and died in exile. Thus they suffered, for maintaining the divine and hereditary right and power of kings, whilst Hugh Peters and General Harrison suffered for denying it, and for maintaining the divine and hereditary right and power of the people, above kings, their nobles, and bishops.

What has been the temper of the clergy since the death of queen Anne, but the very temper and conduct which they are constantly censuring in Hugh Peters. Their busy and meddling disposition led them from rectitude and benevolence, piety and self-government, to promote a party spirit, and two direct rebellions against the house of Hanover in 1715, and in 1745. And they merited, and many of them received, the fate of Hugh Peters and bishop Laud.

The same bad temper of the bishops and clergy of the church of England, rose up in the reign of George the Third, to spread and establish the divine and hereditary power of kings, nobles, and bishops, over the colonies in North America. Royal, aristocratical, and prelatical promises, were not wanting to deceive the people, and effect their plan, but after twenty-three years of tumults, massacres, and war, their croisade terminated like the popes' holy war against the infidels in Asia and Africa. As the infidels extirpated christianity out of Asia and Africa, so the colonists extirpated the English monarchy, aristocracy, and hierarchy, out of America; and to prevent their return, they wisely passed a law which banished forever, kings, hereditary nobles, and the British hierarchy—and a second law like unto it, viz. "That Jesus Christ has established his church, and the bible its canonical direction, whereby the civil magistrates are not vested with any power from God or man to establish any other form of religion; but every congregation has a divine power and right to

worship God in such manner as their wisdom and conscience may or shall point out."

It will be seen that America was not ignorant of the doctrines of the eloquent and renowned Hugh Peters, "who three times waited on king Charles the First, in the days of his trouble, and on his knees, with tears, begged him to accept and sign the proposition touching religion, wherein the church government, the public worship, and the revenues of the clergy were concerned." But the king's chaplains, and the civil delinquents, excepted from pardon by parliament, hindered the king giving his answer in time, according to the friendly advice of Hugh Peters and the commissioners.

Had hecatombs of such chaplains and delinquents been made the price of the life of their royal master, it had been but a poor sacrifice, but those *loyal* and *generous* subjects, rather than give up a place, a benefice, or themselves to justice, advised their sovereign to die in their stead.

Let it not be mentioned in Askelon, that the chaplains and counsellors of Charles the First, at the Isle of Wight, were so eager to save their revenues and lives, that they saved them by flight, and by giving up the crown and the king's life. They knew the army were marching to a rendezvous from all parts, and when assembled, would dissolve the parliament and constitution, and proceed capitally against the person of the king. This did not soften their obdurate minds to sacrifice their own safety, or their own paltry interest, to save his majesty's crown and life.

Those royal malignants persevered in misleading the king, until the army met and published their declaration, and then they advised the king to sign the treaty. But it is matter of lamentation, the army of *twenty thousand* horse and foot followed their declaration and dissolved the treaty and the constitution. Of course, the king's life as well as crown were taken away, while his evil counsellors fled from justice into foreign countries. Such friends had the king and church in 1648, 1660, 1688, and in 1760, and such they will always have until the doctrine of Hugh Peters, which he and the puritans planted in America be also planted in England.

The divine right of bishops, Charles the martyr very justly maintained, and no presbyterian or puritan ever denied episcopacy as it was practised in the primitive christian church.

Lord Clarendon and the king's chaplains, would not let king Charles understand the proposition of the parliament's commissioners, which Hugh Peters so earnestly solicited his majesty to grant, for the quiet and happiness of the nation. Whit. p. 351, explained the proposition. viz. "It is not the apostolical bishop, which the bill desires his majesty to remove, but that episcopacy which was formerly established by law, now grown up to a height of outward pomp and greatness, found by experience to be a grievance to the subject; a hindrance to piety; an encroachment upon the power of the civil magistrate; and so a burthen to the persons, purses, and con-

sciences of men." Peters truly said, "There is a wide difference between St. Paul's episcopacy at Rome, and that of Pope Sextus V. St. Paul's episcopacy had no outward pomp: it was no grievance to the subject, no hindrance to piety, no encroachment on the power of the civil magistrate, no burden to the persons, purses and consciences of christians: But Archbishop Laud's episcopacy in the high commission court, star-chamber, at the council board, at the treasury, has all those bad qualities; which the puritans, presbyterians, people, and parliament, not being so much in love with as the bishops, are willing to have your majesty abolish; *i. e.* such civil parts as are joined to episcopacy here in England." Such sturdy facts no doubt induced his majesty to sign the treaty to the full satisfaction of the puritans and the parliament; and it would have restored peace and happiness to the nation and the king, had not the army destroyed the then constitution and the treaty at once. Had not the bishops and delinquents basely kept his majesty week after week from his gracious concessions, a lasting peace and an end of divisions would have taken place, and the life and crown of a duped king had not fallen to save his malignant advisers. Hence it is evident his counsellors and bishops caused the death of king Charles I. while Hugh Peters and the parliament did all in their power to prevent it.

The English bishops and clergy are not the only clergy who are governed by ambition and the lust of

power: for the American clergy, without directions from bishops, during their war for liberty, went out of their province to promote a party spirit, and to fight battles: in like manner as did Archbishop Herring, Mr. Hugh Peters, and many others in Great Britain. The survivors in that conflict, though compelled to take up arms against the king, or lose their parishes, have not escaped without much abuse and contempt from those they obeyed, for preferring their revenue to the duties of a gospel minister. However, some of them have been compensated with mitres for their defection from loyalty, or for their private defection from the liberty of America: while others, who fought for their king, have received no compensation or thanks from those they served, or those they opposed.

Both parties of those clergy have reason to blame themselves; and I hope they and their successors will follow David's advice—" Put not your trust in kings, or bishops, nor your confidence in any child of man; for their faith is but wind."

The French clergy, in the late Revolution, have not benefited themselves or others, by meddling with things out of their function. Had they duly considered St. Paul's words, " The powers that be, are ordained by God," they would not have suffered for obeying an absent and banished king. The clergy are bound to obey the existing power, when supported by the people, who are the sole proprietors of theocracy, and whoever rules by their authority is a

ruler, not only in fact, but in right; that is, he has power *jure divino.* This doctrine was established at the Revolution in England, in 1688. Had the French clergy well understood this doctrine, they would have remained in France, and not have fled by thousands to England, to starve on British charity of seven shillings by the week. Unfortunate men! to perish on an ideal faith, that the family of Bourbon have a divine hereditary right to be kings of France; and that the will of the people cannot remove and disinherit that family, and then establish another, even the family of Bonaparte. Who but the people made the Bourbon family royal in France? Let the fate of those unhappy clergymen be a warning to all future generations. They put their trust in a king that was and now is not—and they have been compensated by British charity, and nearly two thousand of them with graves in the church-yard of St. Pancras. May the water and blood which flowed from the wounded side of man's Redeemer, cure them and all American royalists of their loyal sorrows, and procure for them joys eternal and sincere!

Hence we see that Hugh Peters and bishop Laud were as their brethren have been and are in all countries. Their faults arose not from their weakness, but from the tyranny of those who knew how to make use of them. The contending parties never had virtue enough to permit the clergy to act a neutral part; but have always impressed them into their service: and then each party censured the clergymen

in opposition, "as meddlers in matters which belonged not to their divine office." Had Lord Clarendon fairly considered that the bishops and their clergy were dependent on the crown for their dignity and livings, and that the puritan clergymen were dependent on the good will of the people, he would not have cast blame on the one, or the other, but have censured the king's ministers, and the generals in the parliamentary army, for impressing the clergy into their civil war. His lordship knew the clergy had already had too long a war amongst themselves in the star-chamber court concerning ecclesiastical matters, to have any share in the civil war carried on by Sir Edward Hyde and Mr. Pym. Yet, nevertheless, he cajoled and threatened the bishops till he brought them to take a part in his civil war, and the parliament followed his cruel example. The result was, the clergy suffered in person, character and property on both sides, with the innocent king; and the gainers were such knaves and traitors as Sir Edward Hyde, Colonel Ingolsby, General Monk, and Sir Ashley Cowper.

Thus Achitophel and Hushai, by the help of Zadok and Abiathar, conspired against David, filled the kingdom with confusion, and destroyed Absalom; and Abiathar the priest, and Joab, David's general, suffered for it in the reign of Solomon.

From what has been said in the preceding pages, all candid readers will no doubt judge that the characters of Archbishop Laud and the Rev. Hugh Pe-

ters have been most infamously abused by the two contending parties during the reigns of Charles I. and Charles II. and by the friends of those royal and republican factions ever since.

I trust and hope the present age has moderation and justice enough to lay aside prejudice, and admit that those two great leaders in troublous times possessed the virtues of integrity, science, generosity, humanity, and piety; and were destitute of such public vices and private sins, as have been alleged against them by their enemies without proof. Whoever shall read their characters drawn by their respective friends and admirers, will see reason to place their names and excellencies with those of Tillotson, Clarke, Hoadley, Butler, Herring, Owen, Calamy, Bates, and other worthy men.

Further to elucidate the character of Hugh Peters, I shall give some account of his writings, his public performances, and Colonel Lockhart's letter to Secretary Thurlow, which will not fail to please the curious, and entertain the pious.

In April, 1646, Hugh Peters preached a sermon before both houses of parliament, the lord mayor and aldermen of London, and the assembly of divines, which was printed in quarto. In the sermon he expressed his desire, "that some shorter way might be found to further justice, and that two or three friend-makers might be set up in every parish, without whose labour and leave none should implead another." He proposed also, that the charter-house

should be converted into an hospital for lame soldiers. In the same year, 1646, he published in London a quarto pamphlet, entitled, "Peters's last report of the English wars, occasioned by the importunity of a friend, pressing an answer to some queries:—1st. Why he was silent at the surrender of Oxford?—2d. What he observed at Worcester, it being the last town in the king's hand?—3d. What were best to be done with the army?—4th. If he had any expedient for the present difference?—5th. What his thoughts were in relation to foreign states?—6th. How these late mercies and conquests might be preserved and improved?—7th. Why his name appears in so many books, not without blots, and he never wipe them off?" In this pamphlet, page 14, he says, "I lived about six years near that famous Scotsman, Mr. John Forbes, with whom I travelled into Germany, and enjoyed him with much love and sweetness constantly; from whom I never had but encouragement, though we differed in the way of our churches."—"Learned Amesius breathed his last breath into my bosom, who left his professorship in Frizeland to live with me, because of my church's independency at Rotterdam. He was my colleague and chosen brother to the church, where I was an unworthy pastor." This modest account of himself and his intimate acquaintance and connexion with Forbes and Amesius, two of the most shining characters for piety, morals and learning, Europe could boast of in that century, seem sufficient to wipe off every blot cast on Hugh Peters in the many books

made and published by his open and declared enemies in the war between king Charles I. and the parliament.

In 1647, Hugh Peters published at London a quarto pamphlet of fourteen pages, entitled, "A Word for the Army, and Two Words to the Kingdom, to clear the one and cure the other, forced in much plainness and brevity, from their faithful servant H. Peters."

In 1651, Hugh Peters published a book entitled, "Peters's Good Work for a Good Magistrate, or a short Cut to great Quiet." In this book Mr. Peters proposed the extirpation of the whole system of the English laws, in particular recommended the old records in the tower should be burnt as the monuments of tyranny. This Good Work for a Good Magisstrate went much against the interest of the barristers of law as well as their practices, and they combined and put out an answer to it the same year, entitled, "A plea for the Common Laws of England, by R. V. of Gray's Inn."

The whole printed works and poems of the Rev. Hugh Peters in the space of forty years, are not necessary on this occasion to be named. Though William Yonge, M. D. his bitter and indecent enemy, says, p. 19, &c. "Mr. Peters was a popular preacher, admired by the classical ministers of New-England, and in Holland and Germany. His performances were cried up so loud, that his name was echoed over all the city, and his friends grew numerous, insomuch that the great parish of St. Sepulchre was

assigned to him, where he continued a lecturer near twenty years. And the Hugonots of England were so bewitched with his doctrines, eloquence, and fervent prayers, that they sighed at the loss of such a *precious villain*, when he was enforced to escape (what they called) the tyranny of episcopal government in the star-chamber court." "Their tokens of love were seen in their liberal contributions for his voyage, and their many prayers set up for this *Jebusite*." "On his arrival in Holland, his wished for Canaan, the land of promise, he was triumphantly received into the sanctified parlour of Rotterdam, and welcomed with the kisses of the holy." From this pettish Dr. Yonge, the chief witness that swore away the life of Hugh Peters on his trial at Newgate, we learn, that the character and abilities of Hugh Peters were highly venerated by the Hugonots of England, Holland, Germany, and New-England; that is to say, Hugh Peters was admired by all the protestants in christendom, excepting the church of England, which abolished the papal court of inquisition, and established in its room the star-chamber court.

Dr. Yonge took the liberty to style Mr. Peters an artful and impure hypocrite: and the Doctor most certainly was petulant enough; yet he was modest enough, in not accusing him of open and public vices, such as swearing, perjury, drunkenness, sabbath-breaking, stealing, blasphemy, and denying the Creator, Redeemer, and Sanctifier of mankind. Herein the Doctor acted cunningly; he knew the Hugonots

practised none of those immoralities, and never countenanced any persons guilty of them.

Dr. Yonge well knew how to give his testimony by moonlight, and that to accuse a man of *hypocrisy* was a sly way to injure him amongst weak people; and the accused could not prove the contrary before the judges in the Old Bailey. One more crime brought forward against Hugh Peters by Dr. Yonge, ought not to be passed over in silence; viz. "He departed from episcopacy, and his oath of canonical obedience, and so became an apostate to the faith." The Doctor in his envy forgat the words of the canonical oath, viz. "in rebus licitis et honestis," in things lawful and honest. The king, parliament and bishops, could not make their law for profaning the sabbath by reading sport books in the churches lawful and honest; nor could the pope and conclave make the inquisition, or star-chamber court, lawful and honest. H. Peters, by disobeying such dishonest laws, was made an apostate. Then Cranmer and all the bishops in the church of England made themselves apostates, for not obeying their canonical oath of obedience to the Pope of Rome. Enough on this accusation. Dr. Yonge may have been an apostate for not speaking the truth.

In Thurlow's State Papers, Vol. VII. p. 249, is Col. Lockhart's Letter to Secretary Thurlow concerning Hugh Peters, which contains too many curious particulars characteristic of the man, not to be inserted verbatim:

"Dunkirk, July 8—18, 1658.

"May it please your Lordship,

"I could not suffer our worthy friend, Mr. Peters, to come away from Dunkirk without a testimony of the great benefits we have all received from him in this place, where he hath laid himself forth in great charity and goodness, in sermons, prayers, and exhortations, in visiting and relieving the sick and wounded; and in all these, profitably applying the singular talent God hath bestowed upon him to the chief ends proper for our auditory: For, he hath not only shewed the soldiers their duty to God, and pressed it home upon them, I hope to good advantage, but hath likewise acquainted them with their obligations of obedience to his highness's government, and affection to his person. He hath laboured here among us with much goodness, and seems to enlarge his heart towards us, and care of us for many other things, the effects whereof I design to leave upon that Providence which hath brought us hither. It were superfluous to tell your Lordship the story of our present condition, either as to the civil government, works, or soldiery. He who hath studied all these more than any I know here, can certainly give the best account of them. Wherefore I commit the whole to his information, and beg your Lordship's casting a favourable eye upon such propositions as he will offer to your Lordship for the good of this garrison. I am, may it please your Lordship, your most faithful, humble, and obedient servant,

"William Lockhart."

Then was added, by Col. Lockhart, as a P. S.—

"My Lord:—Mr. Peters hath taken leave at least three or four times, but still something falls out which hinders his return to England. He hath been twice at Bergh, and spoken with the cardinal (Mazarine) three or four times. I kept myself by, and had a care that he did not importune him with too long speeches. He returns laden with an account of all things here, and hath undertaken every man's business. I must give him that testimony, that he gave us three or four honest sermons; and if it were possible to get him to mind preaching, and to forbear the troubling himself with other things, he would certainly prove a very fit minister for soldiers. I hope he cometh well satisfied from this place. He hath often insinuated to me his desire to stay here, if he had a call. Some of the officers also have been with me to that purpose, but I have shifted him so handsomely, as I hope he will not be displeased: for I have told him that the greatest service he can do us, is to go to England, and carry on his propositions, and to own us in all our interests, which he hath undertaken with much zeal. *Ut ante*,

"William Lockhart."

It is evident that Colonel Lockhart did not consider Hugh Peters to be a weak, ignorant, and vicious man: but contrariwise, he viewed him to be a wise, learned, and pious man, having charity and zeal without hypocrisy; otherwise, he would not have employed him to negotiate a national concern with

Cardinal Mazarine, the wisest and greatest statesman Louis XIV. ever had; nor sent him from Dunkirk into England to report to Secretary Thurlow and the Lord Protector, Oliver Cromwell, the whole story concerning the negotiation with Cardinal Mazarine, and the state of the garrison, &c.

It requires better evidence than has yet been published by Clarendon, Parker, Burnet, Dr. Yonge, and others of that party, to make any man of common sense believe, that Hugh Peters was a weak, ignorant, and vicious man. He was employed in civil and religious matters by Cromwell, Thurlow, the whole parliament, and the assembly of divines, who were never charged with being weak, ignorant and profane, by Clarendon and his coadjutors; they only charged them with being wise and learned hypocrites, and proved it by calling them Hugonots, Puritans, and demure and zealous Sabbatarians, who prayed and sung psalms, instead of blaspheming divine revelation and the moral law.

Hugh Peters, during his imprisonment in the tower, wrote "The Dying Father's Advice to his Daughter," entitled, "Mr. Hugh Peters's Last Legacy to an only Child." It contains sound and wholesome directions, even such as prove him to be well skilled in learning, and well acquainted with the school of Christ; that he had seen days of sunshine, as well as foul weather; that he had enjoyed good reports, and had endured evil reports, and through faith, sincerity, and a good conscience, had overcome

the world. It was printed and published in Old and NewEngland, and myriads of experienced Christians have read his legacy with extacy and health to their souls. No doubt but the book will be had in remembrance in America as long as the works of the assembly of divines (at Westminster) and the holy bible. Whoever shall be fortunate enough to read his works, will see that he was a master workman in the ministry, wherein he laboured successfully forty years, in Europe and America, and brought many souls to Christ; and they will also despise the malice of his enemies, and believe that God wiped away all tears from his eyes; that he was made perfect by his great sufferings; that he entered into rest and joy substantial; and finally, that his works shall live and follow him to that world where time shall not be known.

On the 14th of October, 1660, Mr. Hugh Peters preached a sermon in Newgate chapel, (two days before his execution) for the benefit of the other prisoners condemned to suffer with him, which will satisfy every reader touching the frame of Mr. Peters at that time.

His text was in Psalm xlii. ver. 11—" Why art thou cast down, O my soul? and why art thou so disquieted within me? Hope thou in God, for I shall yet praise him, who is the health of my countenance and my God."

After a compendious view of the psalm, he observed this doctrine, " that the best of God's people are apt to be desponding."

This was the case of the person in the 88th psalm. Also David's case when he complained of the breaking of his bones. And this was the case of Jesus Christ, when he cried, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?"

The reasons why the best of God's people are apt to despond, are,

1. When something happens more than ordinary, when God puts weight in sorrow and affliction, that makes it sinking.

2. When we overvalue our comforts, such as wife, children, estate, and life itself, we are apt to be cast down, on the thought of parting with them.

3. When we are unprepared for sufferings and afflictions, we are apt to despond, and cry out, Alas! I thought not of them.

4. When our afflictions are many, such as the loss of name, estate, relations, and life, we are apt to despond.

5. When afflictions are of long continuance, men are apt to despond.

6. When afflictions fall upon the soul, the noblest part of man, he is apt to despond.

7. When men have more sense than faith, they are apt to despond.

These things ought not to be so, as God's people have no cause to despond: 1. Because it discovers impatience, and 2. The want of faith in the Rock that will not fail them; 3. The want of wisdom, &c. &c. and, 4thly. It gratifies the enemy, who in such a case

is ready to upbraid us, and say, Where is now your God? What is become of your God?

What cure and remedies are found to prevent desponding?

Answer 1. Hope in God; "Hope thou in God." 2. Faith is set on work, "I shall yet praise him," &c.

More particularly, take these directions:

1. Be careful of exercising faith, as no condition of man supersedes his faith. Do all in faith, pray in faith, hear in faith, &c. &c. What is the exercise of faith but trusting in and resting upon Christ, and saying, If I perish, I perish?

The miscarriages of christians are, either because they have no faith, or, if they have faith they give it no food to live on. Faith must go to Christ as the liver vein, and fetch blood and life thence.

Men complain that they have not meekness, patience, and love, &c. &c. but the defect lies in their faith. If they had more faith, they would have more of all other graces.

What is the food of faith? The answer is, Faith will not feed upon every dish, not on a stalled ox, or fatted calf. Prosperity is not the food of faith, but it will eat a word—it will live upon promises: these nourish faith. "I will never leave thee nor forsake thee." "All things shall work together for good." And the like promises.

2. Be careful against things below. Measure things not by sense or by a day, but by faith and eternity. We are troubled at the loss of comforts

here, but what is the value of them? Our mischief is in overvaluing them.

3dly. Go and tell the Lord Christ, I have a defiled conscience, and if thou dost not wash me, I am undone for ever. Look and see the worth and necessity of Christ. There must be something better to love and look at, than what we lose in time; something above estate, life, relations, title, and name. Behold the value of Christ's blood. It is worth more than all creation, because what the blood of bulls and goats could not do, his blood doth cleanse from all sin.

4thly. Keep close to the use of ordinances. Many of our mischiefs come from neglects of this kind. The safety of a Christian lies in the enjoyment of church communion. Psalm xxvii. "One thing I have desired of the Lord, and that I will seek after; that I may dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of my life, &c. for in the time of trouble he did hide me in his pavilion; in the secret of his tabernacle shall he hide me; he shall set me upon a rock. And now shall my head be lifted up above mine enemies round about me. There the greatest fears are dispelled. "You shall find troubles pass over, for you and I expect some. It will be a hard matter to break churches, they are so fast chained together; and yet there hath been marvellous miscarriages amongst saints in their church relations."

Mr. Peters, during his imprisonment, was exercised under great strugglings of his own spirit, "fearing," as he often said, "he should not go through his

sufferings with courage and comfort." He said to his friends, "I am somewhat unprepared to die, and therefore unwilling to meet death: for, I have omitted some things and committed others which trouble me. But, though it is a cloudy dark day with me, yet the light of God's grace and favour will break forth at last." And verily the favour of God did at last appear; for a short time before he went forth to execution, he was perfectly composed in his spirit, and with a smiling countenance said to the sheriff, "Sir, I thank God now that I can die, and look death in the face, and not be afraid."

The night before he suffered, two of the king's chaplains paid him a visit, and took that opportunity to persuade him to repent of and recant his great activity in the cause of parliament, which they enforced by a promise of pardon from the king, in case he complied. But though he was much afflicted in his spirit, and had a daughter and wife full of sorrow and distress near him; yet the Lord enabled him to bear up against their insinuations with courage, and he answered them, "I have not the least reason to repent for adhering to that interest; but I rather repent, that in the prosecution thereof, I did no more for God and his people in these nations." He then with civility dismissed them, and applied himself to other ministers, more able in his opinion to speak a word in season to him, under the trials wherewith the Lord was pleased to exercise him.

The humanity and decency of the party on the side of Charles II. are visible from their insults given

to the dying prisoners. One amongst many is, Mr. Peters and Mr. Justice John Coke went to execution together on October 16th, 1660, in sledges; the sheriffs fixed the head of Major General Thomas Harrison, cousin of Justice Coke, with the face bare towards Mr. Coke, which had been cut off on October 13th, 1660. This dismal sight, attended with abusive words, they endured from Newgate to Charing Cross cheerfully; and Justice Coke turned and said, "Blessed be God, brother Peters, we are going to heaven, and shall leave this multitude in a storm. Before twelve o'clock we shall be in bliss and glory where is no sorrow nor trouble. My very heart leaps in me for joy. You and I have sung with Paul and Silas the Comforter's song in prisons, and shall have spiritual comfort in soon dying, which no man can take from us."

Those dying words of the learned and pious Justice Coke, who had well known Mr. Peters for many years, sufficiently destroy the injurious reports inserted in the histories of Lord Clarendon, Parker, and others. Yet I add the dying actions and words of Hugh Peters, after Mr. Justice Coke's head was cut off, and his blood, by order of Colonel Turnet, was rubbed in his face, with these insulting words, "How do you like this work? Mr. Peters, where is now thy God?"

Mr. Peters being on the ladder, espied a man, to whom he gave a piece of gold, having first bent it, and desired him to go to his daughter with it as a token from him, and let her know that "My heart is

full of comfort; I am ready to die; weep not for me; let them weep who part and shall never meet again. You and I shall meet again in heaven; and before this piece of gold reaches you I shall be with God in glory, where is no night, no need of a candle, nor of the sun, for the Lord will give us light."

The man being dismissed with the piece of gold, Mr. Peters said to the sheriffs, "I truly forgive you and all men from my heart, and if you will believe the words of a dying man, I tell you, I am not convinced of any thing I have done amiss in the business for which I am condemned to suffer; and of consequence, I do not repent of any thing therein done by me. I own the cause of God and his people, and I am here this day to bear witness to it. I bless the Lord I have nothing lying upon my conscience, and I bless the Lord that he has in goodness and mercy made me willing to give myself a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable unto God. I thank the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, that in weakness I am strong, and am not unwilling to go to God through the fire and jaws of death. Blessed be the Lord Jesus, that hath given me the victory over sin and death, and hath supported me with spiritual joy on this good day. O my soul, bless the Lord, that death, my good friend, is come to guard me out of time into eternity. Bless the Lord, O my soul, in this moment; for he is come that I have long looked for, and supports me with his everlasting arm.—Come, beloved spirit, come and make haste, and be

thou like a young roe upon the mountains of spices. Lord Jesus, I come to thee upon the wing of faith. Lord Jesus, receive me with grace into the joy of my Lord. Amen."—Then, with a smiling countenance, he yielded to the stroke of death. Collect. of the Speeches of the Regicides, 1660, page 100, 189, 190, &c. &c.

From the above extracts it appears, that Mr. Justice Coke was well informed, and justly said, before he suffered, "Brother Peters, this is our wedding day; we know that the bridegroom is come, and we are ready to enter into the marriage. We are now going to the souls under the altar; and could our judges but know what glory we shall be in before twelve o'clock, they would desire and pray to be with us. Their blindness is my sorrow; for, when we are gone, our blood will cry, and do them more hurt, than if we had lived."

This prophecy was fulfilled in the reigns of Charles II. and James II. as Lord Clarendon, and the other authors of the civil and religious wars, saw and endured in disgrace and misery. In 1688, the friends of those sacrificed men saw their cause judged, their blood avenged on them, and an end put to the reign of the Stuarts. They saw the revolution under William III. which put an end to star-chamber courts and absolute despotic monarchy. They saw the protestant religion secured under the law of liberty and conscience to all sects and parties, and that passive obedience and non-resistance to wicked kings,

was no gospel doctrine. Thus they saw the doctrines of parliament established, and the doctrines of the Stuarts banished out of England.

After Mr. Peters was found guilty of treason for his zeal and service in the cause of parliament, his estate in England was taken away from his wife and his only child named Elizabeth. He therefore, in his last legacy to his daughter, advised her, page 117, "to go home to New-England with her mother, where she was born, and where he had an estate of considerable worth, which Justice Coke said was not by law forfeited to the crown; and there godliness with content would make them comfortable in the world." They followed his advice, believing New-England would be beyond the reach of the malice and tyranny of the court of Charles II. But herein they were deceived. The ministers and bishops of that king knew that country had been settled by puritans, who had experienced the severity of the star-chamber court, and was supplied with many emigrants, who had been in the interest of the parliament against the court and bishops of Charles I. they could not content themselves with persecutions and murders in England, but extended their vengeance to New-England. Commissioners were sent with the royal power into the New-England colonies, to seize on the persons and estates of such persons as were named and pointed out in the royal proclamation, that the children's teeth might be set on edge, because their fathers had eaten sour grapes. The

commissioners were not so successful in the cruel design as their employers in great fury and malice intended. However, the commissioners failed not to do all things in their power, and stigmatized the inhabitants of the colonies of New-England with the epithets of puritans, republicans, sabbatarians, hypocrites, traitors, and regicides; a character continued to them by the royal and episcopal party in England, with many other insults, until 1783; when they lost their power, but not their inclination to persecute them. The commissioners could not find the persons named, nor could they find their property or estates. The wisdom and innocence of Cromwell had not left the puritans in New-England as they had the independents in Old England through the treachery of the presbyterians and episcopalians. The puritans believed they had suffered too much in the star-chamber court to suffer persecution again in a new country. They therefore gave an asylum and protection to such people as had obeyed the acts of parliament from 1641 to 1660, and to their children.

This just and humane policy, aided by the tyranny, plots and assassinations of the party of Charles II. populated the colonies of New-England with thousands of the wisest and best people New-England could then boast of. Three of the judges of Charles I. lived and died in New-England; and the children of such as were hanged for acting according to the laws of parliament, have done honour to America, themselves, and their ancestors; and many hundreds

of the clergy who were turned out of their livings for their non-conformity to the ceremonies of the church of England, spent their lives in New-England according to wisdom and piety. The posterity of such regicides as Gen. Harrison, Col. Scroop, Col. John Jones, Colonel Axtel, Col. Hacker, Justice Coke, Thomas Scott, Esq. Gregory Clement, Esq. and the Rev. Hugh Peters, &c. &c. &c. have not failed to distinguish themselves by learning, morality, heroism, and piety in the United States of America. Elizabeth Peters, on her arrival at Boston, found friends who were not afraid or ashamed to own her name and her father's worth. They found ways and means, out of her father's property to support her according to her education, and in due time she was suitably married to a gentleman in Newport, Rhode-Island, with whom she enjoyed her father's last and dying wishes, Page 118, Legacy. Her posterity are numerous, respectable and pious, and to this day lift up their heads, " and call her blessed." Her uncle, the Rev. Thomas Peters, A. M. was then the resident minister of Saybrook, in Connecticut, and the first minister that was settled in that colony, and the founder of that college since called Yale University, received Elizabeth Peters as his daughter, and treated her with the father's blessings. Her uncle, William Peters, Esq. a gentleman of considerable fortune in Boston, received her with joy and gratitude, and paid her the attention and love due to her virtues and sufferings. By these incidents, the accomplished and amiable daughter of a beloved and un-

fortunate brother, was held above that want and servitude which was intended for her by her father's enemies. Mrs. Peters, her sickly mother, was likewise received with every token of respect by her brother's relatives and christian friends, who, with the faithfulness and duty of her daughter, kept her from hearing of the chains of the prisoner, from the anger of the oppressor, and from the crying of, What do you lack? In a good old age, she experienced the absence of all evil, and entered into the presence of all good, where love, wisdom, power, mercy, and grace, combine to make all glorious and pleasant for ever.

Lord Clarendon, p. 530, says, "The assembly of divines summoned by the lords and commons, in a synod at Westminster, were avowed enemies to the doctrines of the church of England, some of them infamous in their lives and conversations, and most of them of very mean parts in learning, if not of scandalous ignorance, and of no other reputation than of malice to the church."

The writer of the above could not make use of conscience in forming of characters. The most malicious observer at that time never did or could name one only of public infamy, of life and conversation; and Dr. Calamy says, "These divines were men of eminent learning and godliness." Who can believe the words of Lord Clarendon, after reading the names of Bishop Reynolds, Dr. Twisse, Mr. Gataker, Mr. Hugh Peters, Dr. Lightfoot, and one hundred and fifteen others of like characters. Let the world judge

of the historian by the assembly of divines. Hugh Peters was one of the trustees and pillars of the New Cambridge University in Massachusetts, and Thomas Peters, his brother, was the principal and founder of Yale University in Connecticut, which shews they were not enemies to learning and godliness; seeing these two universities have taught the arts and sciences with as great precision as Cambridge and Oxford in England; and they were coadjutors to their wise and pious brethren, in establishing a grammar and an English school in each town in New-England, which establishment has been kept up to this day to the benefit of morality, learning, and godliness in the United States.* It is this day one hundred and forty-seven years ago, that

* I have much pleasure in contemplating the veneration which the puritans have for their elder brethren, now called methodists, and entertain for moderators, pastors and deacons in Connecticut, as it affords reason to believe a coalition of all protestants is not far off. The learned and pious Dr. Styles, late president of Yale College, has left us a record characterising the state of religion and science in Connecticut; a character which I hope will never be lost, viz. " The puritan church in the state of Connecticut is rising to perfection, like a wilderness planted with cedars, myrtle and oil-trees, with six hundred and thirty-six schools leading to knowledge and godliness; while other states follow their example, and manifest the same temper of charity and universal benevolence." Hence we may expect to see every sect yielding to the civil constitution of each state, and their united capacity, whose rulers beautifully rank in three orders, like bishops, priests and deacons in the primitive church, and whose foundation was laid by God and his Christ.

Hugh Peters died according to the sentence of a court, for the crime of obedience to the constitution made by the Lords and commons of England, without the consent of a king; a constitution deemed legal by the people of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and all the powers of Europe almost twenty years. Yet, after that, it was deemed illegal by the presbyterians and episcopalians for twenty-eight years, when they again changed their minds, and decreed, that the lords and commons had the divine right and power, without any king, to elect and crown a foreigner their legal king, and they wisely and justly acted according to their decree; for by doing so, they followed the doctrine and practice of the lords and commons in the year 1648. That power which holds a divine right to banish a king, must undoubtedly have the same divine right to inflict death upon a king. Strange to relate in history, that Hugh Peters was found guilty and suffered death for high treason, only because he preached and maintained this very glorious revolutionary doctrine.

This incident proves, that the independent poet, who made the following epitaph on Mr. Hugh Peters the very day he suffered, 16th Oct. 1660, had a foresight of the revolution of 1688 and 1715:

Lo here the dictates of a dying man;
Mark well his note; who, like th' expiring swan,
Wisely presaging her approaching doom,
Sings in soft charms her epicedium:
Such, such are his, who was a shining lamp,
Which, though extinguished by a fatal damp,

Yet his last breathings shall, like incense hurl'd
On sacred altars, so perfume the world,
That the next will admire, and out of doubt,
Revere that torch-light, which this age put out.*

Such people as wish to live long and happy, must follow the eleven rules subjoined, which Mr. Hugh Peters, made and sent to his daughter Elizabeth, from the tower of London, 1660.

Let thy thoughts be divine, awful, godly.

talk	little, honest, true.
works	profitable, holy, charitable.
manners	grave, courteous, cheerful.
diet	temperate, convenient, frugal.
apparel	sober, neat, comely.
will	confiant, obedient, ready.
sleep	moderate, quiet, seasonable.
prayers	short, devout, often, fervent.
recreation	lawful, brief, seldom.
memory	of death, punishment, glory.

As the Rev. Hugh Peters left only one daughter, and the Rev. Thomas Peters left no child, all of the name of Peters in the six states of New-England have their descent from William Peters, Esq. who bought of the Rev. Mr. Blackstone the whole peninsula on which the city of Boston stands; but he was not permitted to hold it by those then called *the new comers.* However, he held a share of it, and a share in the township of Andover, and in other towns. He did much towards the settlement of Andover, in building a meeting-house, and a

* Vide Hymns for Zion's Mourners.

house for the minister, the Rev. Mr. Fry, who married one of his daughters, by whom he had a son named Peter Fry, a family of respectability to this day, in the state of Massachusetts. William Peters, Esq. had six sons and four daughters; he lived to a great age, and died at Andover, much revered and beloved for his learning, charities, and piety. The names of his sons were, John, Andrew, Thomas, William, Samuel, Joseph; all of whom lived and had families. His son William had six sons and two daughters. The names of his sons were, Andrew, John, Samuel, William, Joseph, and Bemslee. William had only one son, named John, who married a grand-daughter of General Thomas Harrison, one of the judges of Charles I. by whom he had six sons and four daughters, all of whom lived and had families. The names of the sons of John Peters, of Hebron in Connecticut, were, John, William, Joseph, Samuel, Jonathan, and Bemslee, all were married and had families. John, the eldest, had sixteen children by his wife, a great grand-daughter of John Phelps, the secretary of Oliver Cromwell. His eldest son was named John, who died a colonel in the service of king George III. His second son Absalom was a general in the American service. Colonel John left a widow with six sons and one daughter. The eldest, named John, is an ensign in the British service in Canada. He married a daughter of Col. Rogers, and had a son named John.

Samuel Peters, the fourth son of John Peters of

Hebron, became a clergyman in the church of England in 1760, and was the first of the name in New-England that deviated from the religious system of his renowned ancestors; and for it he was driven from his country, property and family, in 1774. He married a great grand daughter of the reverend and famous Dr. John Owen, vice-chancellor of Oxford university. She died, leaving a daughter named Hannah Deloena, now wife to William Jarvis, Esq. secretary of the province of Upper Canada, who has two sons and four daughters. Her eldest son is named Nikik Samuel Peters, by request of the king of the tribes of Mississaga, adjoining the five great lakes in America. The king created him captain, and a prince of the royal house of Mississaga, and granted and deeded to him a large tract of land in his dominions.

Samuel Peters, after the death of his wife, Hannah Owen, married a daughter of Col. Samuel Gilbert, of Hebron, who died childless. He then married Mary, daughter of William Birdseye, Esq. of Stratford, and by her had one son, named William Birdseye, who was educated at the college of Artois in France, at the university of Oxford, and at the Temple in London; and is a barrister at law. He married a daughter of Samuel Jarvis, Esq. of Stamford, by whom he has two sons, named Samuel Jarvis, and William Birdseye, and three daughters, and resides at Stratford in the state of Connecticut. The Rev. Samuel Peters, L. L. D. the father of William Birdseye

Peters, Esq. was driven from New-England in 1774, by the puritans, for his loyalty to king George III. and his attachment to the church of England, which were deemed at that time treasonable crimes. He endured many revilings during the American war, and was traduced for departing from the examples of Hugh Peters, and the venerable fathers and settlers of New-England. Nevertheless, after the war was ended, and the independence of America was secured, the episcopalians who had settled the state of Verdmont,* with the presbyterians, methodists, and

* *Verdmont*, was a name given to the Green Mountain, in October, 1768, by the Rev. Dr. Peters, the first clergyman who paid a visit to the thirty thousand settlers in that country, in the presence of Colonel Tapling, Colonel Willes, Colonel Peters, Judge Sumner, Judge Sleeper, Captain Peters, Judge Peters, and many others, who were proprietors of a large number of townships in that colony. The ceremony was performed on the top of a rock, standing on a high mountain, then named Mount Pisgah, because it *provided* to the company, a clear sight of lake Champlain at the west, and of Connecticut river at the east; and overlooked all the trees and hills in the vast wilderness at the north and the south.

The baptism was performed in the following manner and form, viz. Priest Peters stood on the pinnacle of the rock, where he received a bottle of spirits from Colonel Taplin; then haranguing the company with a short history of the infant settlement, and the prospect of its becoming an impregnable barrier between the British colonies in the south, and the late colonies of the French in the north, which might be returned in the next century to their late owners, for the sake of governing America by the different powers of Europe, he continued, " We have here met on the rock Etam, standing on Mount Pisgah, which makes

puritans, unanimously elected him their bishop, and invited him to accept the office, and return from England to his native country. The Doctor acknowledged the obligation he laid under to the churches in Vermont for their choosing him to be their bishop, and believed it was his duty to accept of that sacred and important office to which they had so unanimously invited him; and that he would deliver their letters and petition to his grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, who would, no doubt, hear and attend to the prayer of their petition, as his grace had alrea-

part of "the everlasting hill," the spine of Africa, Asia, and America, holding together the terrestrial ball, and dividing the Atlantic from the Pacific ocean; to dedicate and consecrate this extensive wilderness "to God manifested in human flesh," and to give it a new name worthy of the Athenians and ancient Spartans, which new name is Verd-Mont, in token that her mountains and hills shall be ever green, and shall never die."—And then poured the spirits around him, and cast the bottle on the rock Etam. The ceremony being over, the company descended Mount Pisgah, and took refreshment in a log house kept by Captain Otley, where they spent the night with great pleasure. After this, priest Peters passed through most of the settlements, preaching and baptizing for the space of eight weeks, and baptized nearly twelve hundred children and adults.

Since Verdmont became a state in union with the thirteen states of America, its general assembly have seen proper to change the spelling of *Verd*-mont, Green Mountain, to that of *Ver*-mont, Mountain of Maggots. Both words are French; and if the former spelling is to give place to the latter, it will prove that the state had rather be considered a *mountain of worms* than an ever green mountain!

dy consecrated three bishops for three states in America. The Archbishop having considered the petition of the churches of Vermont, would readily have complied with it, had not the act of parliament of January, 1786, limited the power of the king, and restricted the number of bishops to three, to be consecrated and sent into the United States in North America, by the hierarchy of England. This unlooked for objection gave no satisfaction to the churches in Vermont, because they had petitioned the archbishop to convey to their bishop elect, apostolical and spiritual power, such as St. Paul gave to Titus: they had not petitioned his grace to convey to their bishop elect any part of the parliamentary and kingly power of Great Britain, which, by the treaty of 1783, and by a law of congress, is null and void in the United States.* When Doctor Peters proposed to receive consecration by the three English made bishops for

* An article in the American constitution says, "that if any citizen of the United States shall accept of any title, place, or office from any foreign king, prince, or state, he shall forfeit and lose his right of citizenship of the United States." This article is, or is not, directly against the three chaplains of congress; who accepted the title, place, and office of bishops from the parliament, the king, and archbishop of England. "A person only for acting as prize-master to a French privateer, was prosecuted under this article in America, at Philadelphia." But as yet no prosecution has taken place against the three said bishops. And as the Rev. Dr. Dwight, President of Yale college, has not, in his Catalogue, condescended to give capital letters to Bishop Seabury and Bishop Jarvis, as he has done to other dignified

the United States, the churches of Verdmont consented not: " 1. Because these three bishops were limited in number and in power by act of a British parliament, and held no apostolical and spiritual power out of the thirteen United States, and that moment they went out of the thirteen United States, they ceased to be bishops, and became laymen. The three bishops made for the United States possess locality, and not that ubiquity which is included in Christ's commission to the apostles, viz. " Go ye into all the world," &c. &c. And 2dly. As the three English made bishops for the United States have no parliamentary power, nor apostolic power, when removed out of the thirteen states, they cannot have either parliamentary or apostolic power in the thirteen states, unless it can be proved, that Christ gave his spirit by measure. 3dly. As Verdmont is not within the thirteen states, and never was, nor can be, but was received as the fourteenth state by the thirteen states, the three English made bishops for the thirteen states held no kind of power as bishops in the state of Verdmont, nor in Canada, nor in Kentucky, nor in Tennessee, nor in the Western Territory, nor in any

men, it is presumed that luminary amongst poets and literati has most solemnly decreed, by virtue of the institutes of Calvin, that Bishop Seabury and Bishop Jarvis are no more bishops, cardinals, or popes, than himself. If the wisdom of Dr. Dwight is infallible, like his predecessor in the supralapsarian system, we may be assured, that the college of bishops in America are his inferiors, and gained nothing by an English mitre.

part of the globe, except in the thirteen states: therefore, it would be trifling with Christ's commission to his apostles, to have our bishop elect consecrated by the three pretended bishops of the thirteen states, who are subjected to a limitation by a British act of parliament, which authorised the king to authorise the archbishop, with two of his suffragan bishops, to consecrate three and only three men to be bishops in the thirteen states in America, and only to execute their office in the thirteen states.

"The churches of Verdmont are not informed, who authorised the parliament of Great Britain, to authorise the archbishop, &c. &c. It appears, by act of Henry VIII. Edward VI. and queen Elizabeth, that the parliament had no kind of ecclesiastical and spiritual power. For Statute 36, Henry VIII. ch. 1, says, "All authority and jurisdiction spiritual and temporal, is derived and deducted from the king's majesty as the supreme head of the church and realm of England, and is so acknowledged by the clergy thereof." Again, "Whenever the lords archbishops, and other ecclesiastical persons in England, shall assert that their jurisdiction and authority is not received from the king, and only from the king, they shall suffer the penalty of a premunire." These statutes have not been repeated: of course the parliament in 1786 had neither right, law, nor power, in ecclesiastical matters, in England or America.

"We have already seen, that the divine and apostolic college of three bishops, made in England for the

thirteen states in America, cannot authorise a presbyter with divine or parliamentary power to preach the gospel, or baptize in Canada. They ordained John Cozen Ogden to be a presbyter in the church episcopal, and he had a call and went to Canada to officiate there as a presbyter; but Dr. Mountain, the protestant bishop of Canada, forbade him, until he should be ordained a presbyter by his lordship, according to the church of England. Mr. Ogden was astonished at the event, as he saw presbyterian and lutheran ministers, and popish presbyters, were allowed by Dr. Mountain to preach and baptize in Canada, without being ordained by his lordship. Hence it is evident, that Dr. Mountain knows and believes that a presbyter ordained by the three bishops made in England for the thirteen states, has less apostolical, divine and parliamentary right and authority to preach and baptize, in Canada, than presbyters ordained by presbyters in Germany, Holland, Geneva, and New-England.

"Under these circumstances, the churches of Verdmont can only propose to their bishop elect to return to his native country, and receive a consecration by the moderator of the synod of all the presbyters and deacons in the several associations belonging to the state of Verdmont, in the presence of the governor, council, and representatives thereof. Which proposal being founded on the example and conduct of the churches of Denmark, Sweden, and other protestants

in Europe, the bishop elect of Verdmont will have the goodness to consider of and adopt.

"In behalf of the church of Verdmont,

"John A. Graham."

The bishop elect of Verdmont took the foregoing proposal into consideration, and returned a short answer, in substance as follows:

"Your bishop elect believes in and loves primitive episcopacy, and perfectly disapproves of all hierarchies, both catholic and protestant. Had the concessions of Charles I. to his parliament, which reduced the hierarchy of the church of England to the apostolical episcopacy, been sooner made, according to the prayers of that extraordinary man of piety, Hugh Peters, the parliament would have been led to controul the army, to protect the king against their violence, and to restore peace and harmony amongst the parties in church and state. The consequences were too horrible for human memory!

"The arguments of your churches against having your bishop elect consecrated by the three English made bishops for the thirteen states are not to be resisted, if they are local bishops, and want that ubiquity each apostle received by the commission of Christ, viz. "Go you into all the world, and preach and baptize." The systems of the lutherans and protestants in general through all Europe, accord with the primitive system of episcopacy, consisting of bishop, priest, and deacon, the adopted system of the puritan settlers of New-England. The kings of

Sweden, Denmark, and England, to unite church and state under one political head, adopted the hierarchy of Rome, which placed episcopacy under a hierarchy of kings, lord archbishops, and lord bishops, characters not known in holy scripture. These three last dignities were deemed by Luther and other protestants, to be, " the spiritual wickedness in high places." This opened the door to schisms in the protestant churches, to the benefit of Rome and deism. Episcopacy was soon in disgrace, and buried under the high sounding word *hierarchy*. Hence many believe episcopacy was in fashion among the apostles, but the holy government of Christ's church, now rests in popes, cardinals, archbishops, kings, and lord bishops, which constitute the *hierarchy*.

" History informs, that the Roman hierarchy was so intolerable in the seventh century, that the Saracens and gentiles waged war against it, and drove christianity out of Asia and Africa; and the Greeks in the ninth century, rejected the hierarchy, and contented themselves with the apostolic episcopacy. Denmark, reformed under Luther, banished the Roman hierarchy, because it was an enemy to the episcopacy of Jesus Christ. Yet, on August 26th, 1537, Christian III. ordered, by his royal edict, John Bugenhagius, a *reformé* from the hierarchy of Rome, and only a presbyter, to consecrate seven surveillans, or moderators, or bishops, who were enabled thereby to confer holy orders on elders and deacons. This consecration was performed in the cathedral of Hofnia,

and the king and senate concurred with the presbyter. And in like manner, Frederick III. of Denmark in 1650, named one of the surveillans to be archbishop, and ordered one of the surveillans to consecrate him: then, by a public edict, subjected the seven surveillans to the arch-surveillan. The kings of Sweden and England acted in like manner.

"Those kings acted on the supposition, that as they were sovereigns, they as such possessed all ecclesiastical and spiritual power, as well as civil power. The state of Verdmont is exactly as sovereign as Denmark, Sweden, and England, and of course can, with the same propriety, act as they did. Yet such steps would not accord with the system of other protestants in Europe and America, who translate St. Paul's words in the 7th chapter of the epistle to the Hebrews, 7th verse, "Without all contradiction, the less is blessed of the greater." Whereas, Henry VIII. and James I. ordered the text to be translated, "Without all contradiction, the less is blessed of the *better*." Henry VII. and James I. willingly allowed Melchizedec, a priest of God, to be a better man than king Abraham, but not a greater man.

"Your bishop elect finds in Samuel, ch. 8, ver. 22, that theocracy was given to the people, who were empowered thereby to elect to themselves a king, and Samuel the priest was authorised to anoint their king. It is beyond all contradiction, that the lutherans, the generality of protestants in Europe, and the learned and pious puritans who settled New-En-

gland, taught and believed, that an election of a man by the people, to be their minister, was the grand essential, and his ordination was but an external circumstance, a mere ceremony to put him in possession of the office he had by his election.

" St. Paul said, " he would not eat meat, if thereby he should offend a brother." Your bishop elect is of the same disposition, and will not be wanting, in this age of great uncertainty touching what is called the lineal succession, to perfect the divine labour of love and harmony, begun and going on among the churches of Verdmont. A coalition among puritans, presbyterians, anabaptists, methodists, episcopalians, and all protestant denominations, ought to take place, as it will produce that temper of universal charity and benevolence, which constitutes *Christocraty*. It is a possible thing to happen in the United States, where the hierarchies and civil establishments hold no place; and where all sects and parties agree in piety and godliness, and disagree only in *religion;* a civil word, meaning only the form, ceremonies, and rites made binding by a civil establishment and a star-chamber court. The science, zeal, and candour of the churches in Verdmont direct your bishop elect to anticipate love, peace, and harmony, attended with rites, ceremonies, and opinions innocently different; and should he live to see his native country thus united, his moderation and brotherly love shall prevent future divisions, and all animosities in the churches, and all discord and anarchy in the state.

It is enough for christians to have the same faith, the same hope, the same love: they all have some imperfections, and demand mutual prayers. Let every one put on charity; then the spirit of divine fear will rest on Pathros, Elam, and Hamath, and the children of Ammon shall obey the ensign set up for the nations. "Have salt within yourselves, and peace with one another"—is the prayer of your

"Samuel Peters."

The reply to this letter seems worth a place in the temple of memory: viz.

"The archbishops of England in 1784, refused consecration to Dr. Seabury, bishop elect of the churches in the state of Connecticut, because their divine, apostolical and royal authority could not be made use of in foreign countries, until an act of the British parliament should be enacted to extend their apostolical authority to foreign countries. Dr. Seabury, therefore, was consecrated by the bishops in Scotland, whose apostolical authority depended not on acts of the British parliament. In 1786, the archbishops, by virtue of an act of parliament, were empowered to extend their divine and episcopal power into a foreign country. This parliamentary authority of bishops is not known in law, nor in the gospel. Seeing the archbishops held no power in 1784 to make bishops for foreign countries, their power was not increased by the act of parliament in January 1786. It is without all contradiction they have not, and never had, any power in a foreign country. Con-

sequently, the three men called a college of bishops in the thirteen United States, are as perfectly destitute of apostolical power, as they are of legal power; and it seems to be the duty of every citizen in America, to take the oath of abjuration against them and their power or claim, as the good subjects of England do, against the power and claim of the pope of Rome.

The archbishops of England no doubt understood that the commission Christ gave to each of his twelve apostles extended beyond Palestine given to the Jewish nation. Those apostles were authorized to go and preach to and baptize all nations in Asia, Africa, and Europe. At the same time Christ told them, "I have other sheep which are not of this fold—these I will gather in," &c. &c. That is, the people in America, whom he will gather in at his own time, which proves, that Christ never sent any of his twelve apostles into America, but left the country under the theocracy, which had made the old world happy, from Adam to Samuel the prophet.

Well might the archbishops say to Dr. Seabury, "We have no authority to send bishops into America, until we shall be endowed with that authority by an act of the British parliament." And with greater propriety they could have said to Dr. Seabury, "Until we shall be endowed with power from on high;" that is, from God and his Christ.

Seeing that the twelve apostles had no jurisdiction or mission in America, beyond all contradiction

their successors have none; and the people of America possess and enjoy theocracy by the mercy and gift of God.

The people of Jewry chose Saul to be their king, by virtue of the theocracy which God had yielded to them, and Samuel their priest anointed him. The people of Verdmont, in like manner, have chosen Samuel Peters to be their bishop, and the moderator of their churches is ready to anoint him, and beyond all contradiction his authority will be *jure divino.**

In behalf of the convention,
"John A. Graham."

* The kings of the Jews consecrated their high-priests; and Jeroboam, king of Samaria, consecrated his high-priest, and gave his reason for doing so, viz. "If this people go up to do sacrifice in the house of the Lord at Jerusalem, then shall the heart of this people turn again unto their lord, even unto Rehoboam, king of Judah; and they shall kill me, and go again to Rehoboam, king of Judah." 1 Kings xii. 27. Had General Washington, in 1786, thought of the above reason of Jeroboam, he would not have sent his three chaplains to be consecrated high priests over America by the king of England. Nor would his excellency, John Adams, then ambassador from congress at the court of London, and a bitter enemy to episcopacy, have exerted himself so much as he did in favour of a college of bishops in America, but for the purpose of making divisions among the episcopalians in the United States, by forming a war between bishop Seabury in Connecticut, who had been consecrated by bishops in Scotland, and the three bishops consecrated in South Britain, by virtue of an act of parliament. Fortunately, Mr. Adams's favourite text, "divide et impera," did not prosper in the œcumenical council of the bishops, presbyters, and delegates of the American episcopal church, so much as his history of the modes different in

Soon after this letter reached Dr. Peters, he was seized with a paralysis on the vesica, which prevented his joining the united churches in Verdmont.

civil governments. A history, which in decency should not have been published by John Adams, Esq. as in it he declares the British system of government to be the best in the world; and this too after he had been a great stickler in a war of ten years, to destroy what he now calls the best system of government in the world. Of what is this best system composed? We all know it is composed of a hereditary king, a hereditary house of lords, a royal house of lord bishops, and a house of representatives, elected once in seven years, out of the sons of the hereditary lords, and the royal lord bishops; leaving to the swinish multitude the liberty of obeying the laws made by their divine and hereditary rulers, or the right of being hanged for not obeying. According to Mr. Adams, we ought to give up the constitution of the United States of America, and turn again to Rehoboam!

FINIS.

APPENDIX.

THE preceding history of the Rev. Hugh Peters being finished, according to the plan on which it was begun, I have been desired by many of his relatives to lay before the public, in an appendix, a summary account of William Peters, Esq. of Boston, in New-England, A. D. 1634, and of his children and descendants to the present period.

To comply with their wishes, I here lay before the public a genealogical account of the said William Peters, his predecessors and successors, as far as I am able to say is correct. Another reason which induces me to make this statement, is the opportunity it will give me of relating some matters which may deserve the attention of christians, Jews and deists. But whether I am right in my conjectures or not, this I am sure of, that no chimera of vanity is the motive of my thus committing my ideas to the press.

William, Thomas and Hugh Peters were brothers, and sons of William Peters, of Fowy, in Cornwall, South Britain, who was son of Sir John Peters, of Exeter, in Devonshire, whose grandson was created lord Peters and baron of Writtle, in 1603, by James

I. Sir John Peters, of Exeter, was born in 1509. His ancestor was of an ancient family of Normandy in France, and went an officer in the army of king William, who conquered England, A. D. 1066; and the family has enjoyed its share of royal favours ever since. Ten barons have succeeded from Sir John Peters: their names in the herald's office in London, are, John—William—Robert—William—John—Thomas—Robert—Robert James—Robert Edward—Robert. Their coat of arms was granted by king William I. with this motto, viz. "SANS DIEU RIEN." This proves the origin of the Rev. Hugh Peters, and also proves Lord Clarendon and his party to have been guilty of an aberration from the truth by undervaluing the parentage and antiquity of the Rev. Hugh Peters; therefore, as he and his party have written and published many malignant lies for truths, during the space of one hundred and forty-seven years, their reports ought to lie under the contempt of all Jews, christians and Turks, henceforth and for ever.

William, Thomas, and Hugh Peters, being puritans, migrated to New-England, A. D. 1634, to avoid the star-chamber court, or protestant inquisition of England. The Rev. Thomas Peters settled at Saybrook in Connecticut, in 1634, and was the first clergyman and Englishman that arrived in that colony. He was a modest, benevolent, and scientific man: He founded an academy at Saybrook, which bore his name, until the academy became a university named Yale college, in consequence of a large benefaction by Mr. Yale, governor of a British colony, a

zealous puritan, and a native of Wales. The colleague and successor in the ministry with Thomas Peters, was the Rev. and pious Mr. Buckingham, a native of Westmoreland in England, who left that country for the wilds of America, on account of religion and the persecutions which followed the restoration. Many learned men have descended from him, who have distinguished themselves by piety, and talents in the pulpit and the bar. They are to be found in the various states in the union. The head branch of the family is the honourable Jedediah Parker Buckingham, A. M. one of the judges in the state of Vermont, whose general knowledge in the belles-letters will, no doubt, give him a seat in Congress, through the wisdom and prudence of the electors of that scientific state.

William Peters, Esq. arrived at Boston in 1634, and had six sons and four daughters, all of whom were married and had families.

One daughter married the Rev. Mr. Fry, of Andover, thirty miles N. E. from Boston. Colonel Peters Fry, of Salem, is one of her descendants, whose daughter is now wife of Admiral Lewis, in the British navy. The second daughter married Colonel John Chandler, of Andover, one of whose descendants was the Rev. Thomas Bradbury Chandler, D. D. rector of an episcopal church in Elizabeth-town, New-Jersey, a pious and literary character of the first rate in America. He had a son, captain in the British service, who died in London childless. The

Doctor left several daughters, one of whom is wife of the Rev. Dr. Hobart, an episcopal clergyman in the city of New-York, who is an author and preacher of high fame. He is a descendant from a younger brother of the earl of Buckinghamshire, in England. Two other daughters married, but I cannot say to whom.

The names of the sons of William Peters, Esq. of 1634, were, John, Andrew, Thomas, William, Samuel, Joseph.

I shall now trace the genealogy of William, the fourth son of William, of 1634, who had six sons, viz. Bemslee, Samuel, John, William, Andrew, and Joseph, and two daughters, to be accounted for by their respective descendants; and I hope they will send their accounts to John Thomson Peters, Esq. of Hebron, in Connecticut, to be printed and added to this appendix.

William, grandson of William Peters, of 1634, married Mary Russel, and by her had one son named John; and when eleven days old, his father, a captain of a troop of horse, was killed in battle at Andover, by the Indians and French, in October, 1696. John was educated in Boston, where he married Mary, grand-daughter of General Thomas Harrison, who was murdered by General Monk and Charles II. in 1660, for being one of the judges of Charles I.

In 1717, John Peters moved from Boston, and settled at Hebron in Connecticut on a patent of land, and there had by Mary his wife six sons and four

daughters, who married and had families; of whom I shall now give a detail, with the number of their children and grand-children, so far as I know. I shall first mention the daughters, and then begin with the youngest son.

1. Mary, married to Thomas Carrier, a planter, had two sons, viz. Thomas and Isaac, and four daughters. Hannah married Samuel Hunt, a planter in the state of New-York. All were married and had children and grand-children. I have not their number or names.

2. Margaret, married to John Mann, a planter, had five daughters and four sons, all married, and have thirty-six children, and many grand-children. John, the eldest son of Margaret, married Miss Porter; he is a major in the American service, and a representative in the assembly of New-Hampshire. Elijah, the second son, is a planter, and married Miss Perkins, and had five children; after her death, Elijah married Miss ——. Andrew, the third son of Margaret, is a captain in the American service; he married Miss Phelps. Nathaniel Mann, A. M. married Dolly Owen, and had two daughters: he was a surgeon and physician, and possessed extensive abilities, and died in the state of Georgia.

3. Phebe, married to Moses Cass, a planter, had two sons named Moses and Aaron, and four daughters; all were married and had children. Mary married to Samuel Hatch, a gentleman of Kent in the

state of Connecticut, and had seven children, all of whom were married and had children.

4. Mercy, married to Timothy Buell, a major in the service of king George III. He died in Canada, leaving his widow with five daughters, all married; and one son named William, a representative in the assembly of Upper Canada. He has children and grand-children.

The youngest son of John Peters, of Hebron, in Connecticut, A. D. 1717, was named Bemslee. He was a captain in the service of king George III. He married Annis, daughter of Dr. Samuel Shipman, M. D. of Hebron, and had by her three daughters and two sons. Clarinda married Thomas Welles, a planter, and had one son, named Andrew. Annis married Nathaniel Phelps, a planter, and had three children. Mary Martha is yet a maiden. Bemslee, the second son of Captain Bemslee, married Phebe Mann, and by her had two sons, viz. Bemslee and Samuel. On the death of Phebe, he married Miss ——, and by her has children. He resides at Ballstown, near Albany, in the state of New-York. John Samuel Peters, M. D. first son of Captain Bemslee, is a physician and surgeon of high character amongst the faculty in the state of Connecticut, as was his grandfather Dr. Shipman. He is representative from Hebron to the general assembly of Connecticut, and a socius of the medical society of that state, but is not married.

Jonathan, son of John and Mary Peters, of Hebron,

in 1717, married Abigail, daughter of John Thomson, Esq. of Hebron, and by her had four sons, viz.

John Thomson Peters, A. M. barrister at law, and representative to the general assembly of Connecticut, from Hebron. He married Elizabeth Caulkins, of the city of Norwich; he has three sons and two daughters.

Jonathan Peters is a planter: he married Miss Caroline Cane, and by her has three sons and two daughters.

Samuel Andrew Peters, A. M. barrister of law, and representative from Colchester to the general assembly of Connecticut, married Miss Wiley, of Colchester and by her had two sons, named John Thomson and Samuel Andrew.

John Hugh Peters, A. M. and barrister of law at Chatham in Connecticut, is not married.

These four sons of Jonathan Peters possess shining talents, as did their father, who lost his life in 1777, in defence of king George III. The penetration and ability of these four brothers has been imputed to the Otis blood in the veins of their mother, a near relation of Judge Otis, of Boston, whose son was the finest brilliant in law and eloquence ever known in Massachusetts during the last century. That lawyer, by the nervosity of his rhetoric, in 1674, kindled such a fire in New-England against the government of Great Britain, that all the waters in the Atlantic have not quenched it, and perhaps never will.

Samuel Peters, L. L. D. son of John and Mary

Peters, of Hebron, A. D. 1717, a clergyman of the church of England, was rector of the churches in Hebron and Hartford, in Connecticut, until 1774, when he went to England to shun the turbulence and madness of those times. He is reputed to have the faculties of his uncle Hugh, the zeal and courage of his grand parent, General Thomas Harrison, mixed with the benevolence that characterised his great grand parent, William Peters, Esq. of 1634.

The various colours which sum up the life of Dr. Samuel A. Peters, prove his fortitude, and shew what man can do and suffer in passing through time to a better world. He has passed the pharos of Messina, and touched not Scylla nor Charybdis. In 1758, he went to Europe, and in 1760 returned to Hebron, in Connecticut, where he married Hannah Owen, an only child of Silas, grandson of the pious and learned Dr. John Owen, vice-chancellor of the university of Oxford, and by her had a daughter named Hannah Deloena; who, after an education in England, France, and Germany, became wife to Colonel William Jarvis, secretary of his majesty's colony of Upper Canada, and nephew of Abraham Jarvis, D. D. bishop in Connecticut.

Hannah Deloena has four daughters, viz. Maria, Augusta, Hannah, and Elizabeth; and two sons, viz. William Monson, and Nikik Samuel Peters.

This last son, when very young, so pleased the emperor of the Mississaga tribes, when on a visit to Colonel Jarvis, that his majesty adopted him to be

his son, by the name of *Nikik*, that is, *a young beaver*. The emperor then created him captain in his royal guards, and made him prince of the royal house of Mississaga, commanding the five grand lakes. The emperor then ordered Colonel Joseph Brandt to write a deed of a large tract of land in his dominions, which he signed, sealed, and delivered before a magistrate, and the Rev. Mr. Jonathan Addison, with a view to enable the young prince to live according to his exaltation.

Dr. Peters, on the death of Hannah Owen, five years afterwards married Abigail, daughter of Col. Samuel Gilbert, of Hebron, who soon after died without issue.

Five years after, the Doctor married Mary, only daughter of William Birdseye, Esq. of Stratford in Connecticut, by whom he had one son, named William Birdseye. Eight days after his birth his mother died; and the same year, 1774, his father went to London. His son was put under the tuition of the Rev. Richard Mansfield, D. D. rector of the episcopal church in Darby, and of the Rev. Mr. Stebbins, rector of the puritan church in Stratford, until he was fourteen years of age. He then went to the care of his father, then preacher at the temple for Dr. Thurlow, master, and bishop of Rochester, and remained with him one year, to prepare for the college of Artois in France, where he abode two years, and then returned to England, and was matriculated into Trinity college, in Oxford, and remained four years un-

der the tuition of Dr. Flamank. From the university he entered the temple in London, and after four years became a barrister of law, and a special pleader. He then went to Upper Canada, subsecretary of that province, and acted as an attorney in York. He then paid a visit to Connecticut, his native place, where he met with a virtuous and well educated young lady, Patty Marvin, eldest daughter of Samuel Jarvis, Esq. of Stamford, a relative of Admiral Jarvis, of the British navy, and married her; by whom he has three daughters, named Albertina, Elizabeth, and Sally-Hannah. This induced him to leave Upper Canada, and settle at Stratford in Connecticut, where he resides amongst his numerous relations, on his maternal estate, a most delightful situation, with the sea at the south, the river Hoosootoonock at the east, and the harbour of Bridgport at the west.

The ancestor of William Birdseye, Esq. of Stratford, being a puritan in England, in 1636, resided at Reading, in Berkshire. He emigrated to New-Haven, with two sons. One settled at Middletown, on Connecticut river, the other at Stratford: both became ruling elders, and eminent in the puritan church; for both were rich and pious—twins which seldom travel together in modern times. Nevertheless, Nathan Birdseye, A. M. of Stratford, formerly a minister in New-Haven, and now ninety-two years of age, is both rich and pious; and by his great science, energetic lectures, and good example, has taught his children the way to the world of love and

glory, where lives the eternal First Cause. After a few years more, he will meet with his venerable predecessor, a deacon in Stratford church, and live with the everlasting spirits of just men made perfect, where sighs and sorrows are not known, and where old age is a stranger.

Joseph Peters, a physician, son of John Peters, of Hebron, in 1717, married Deborah Burchard, and by her had two sons named Samuel and Joseph, and three daughters. Phebe married George Gates, and had five children. Susannah married Hopkins West, and had five children. Deborah died a maiden.

Samuel Peters married Huldah Youngs, and had three children. Joseph Peters married Sarah, daughter of Edmund Welles, Esq. of Hebron, and by her had two sons and two daughters. Joseph, a planter, James, a merchant, and Mary, are not married: but Sarah is wife of Matthew Gibbs, and has five children. They live at Cambridge in the state of New-York.

William Peters, son of John Peters, of Hebron, A. D. 1717, a planter, married Ruth Capel, and by her had one daughter, viz. Mary, wife of Philip Judd, who had four children; and two sons. William, married Deborah Strong, and had eight children. Joseph married Dolly Owen, and had twelve children. Ruth died, and William married Miss Moreau, and by her had one son named Andrew, and four daughters, named Ruth, Lydia, Rachel, Margaret: all are married, and have children.

John Peters, first son of John and Mary Peters, of

Hebron, A. D. 1717, was born A. D. 1718. He was a colonel in the service of America: he married Lydia, daughter of Joseph Phelps, Esq. of Hebron, grandson of John Phelps, secretary to Oliver Cromwell, lord protector of England, and by her had seven daughters and six sons. Here follow the names of his daughters according to their births, and to whom married.

Lydia, married to Benjamin Baldwin, Esq. secretary of the state of Vermont, had nine children, all of whom are married, and have children.

Mary, married Joseph Horsford, Esq. of Thetford, in the state of Vermont, had eleven children, all married and have children.

Susannah, married John House, a colonel in the American service, had eight children, all married and have children.

Phebe, married Dr. David Sutton, M. D. of Hebron, an excellent physician and surgeon—left no children.

Margaret, married Zenas Cass, a planter, had seven children, all married and have children.

Mercy, married Ruel Beebee, a planter of Cambridge, in the state of New-York, had one daughter named Lydia, one son named John E. who is a barrister of law, and one named Samuel Peters. Neither of the three are married.

Popelia Sarah, married Ira Parmerly, Esq. of Cambridge, in the state of New-York, and has only one daughter, named Susannah Popelia, twelve years old, in A. D. 1806.

These are the six sons of colonel John Peters, born at Hebron, 1718. I begin with the youngest. William married Lydia Phelps, had three children.

Joseph Phelps Peters married Lydia Day, had two children; he is a physician and surgeon, famous for his skill in curing the bilious cholic and for setting bones.

Andrew Peters married Sarah Tafft, had ten children; three of them are named Eleazer, David and Andrew.

Samuel Peters, a captain in the American service, married Hannah, daughter of captain Asaph Trumbull, of Hebron, a representative in the general assembly of Connecticut, and brother to the reverend Benjamin Trumbull, D. D. rector of the congregational church in North-haven, an eloquent preacher, a profound scholar, and a useful and candid historian, but as yet they have no children.

Absalom Peters, A. M. a general in the American service, a representative in the assembly of New-Hampshire; he married Mary Rodgers, a descendant of the famous and pious martyr John Rodgers, by whom he has five sons named John, George, James, William and Absalom; and five daughters, named Phœbe, Lydia, Mary and Sarah; they are married and have children.

John Peters, A. M. born 1740, the first son of colonel John, born in 1718, was a colonel in the British service; he married Ann Barnett; by her had one

daughter named Ann, and six sons, named John, Andrew B. Samuel, Henry, Joseph and Edmund Fanning. Colonel John died in London, 1793, leaving his widow and children at Cape Breton.

Andrew Barnett settled at Bradford, in the state of Vermont, is a representative in the general assembly, and acts as a magistrate; he married a grand-daughter of the reverend John Bliss, A. M. rector of Hebron, and of literary fame. He quitted the puritan church and founded the church of England in Hebron, A. D. 1737, and by her has sons and daughters.

Samuel married Miss Grant, has sons and daughters; is comptroller of the customs at Sidney, Cape Breton.

Edmund Fanning resides at Boston. Henry is captain of a ship; both are married.

John, the eldest son of colonel John who died in London, is an ensign in the British service; he resides in Upper Canada, where he married a daughter of colonel Rogers, and by her has a number of sons and daughters; his first born is named John—further I am not informed.

From the foregoing account of the children of John and Mary Peters, of Hebron, since 1717, which makes ninety years, it appears that 250 persons have descended from them, and was I possessed of the number of their great grand-children (supposed to be 150) the whole number to this year would amount to 400 souls.

The deists who find difficulty in believing the Mosaic statement of the threescore and ten Jews, that went into Egypt, and after 400 years, returned to Palestine, under the command of Moses, in a body of 5,000,000, may be convinced of the fact as perfectly as they are of the problems of Euclid, by considering that in 1717, John and Mary Peters went to Hebron without children, and in 1807 their children, grand-children, and great grand-children numbered 250, besides 150 more children in the 4th and fifth grade, which I am taught to believe is not erroneous.

I therefore reason thus: if one couple in ninety years produced 250 persons, then 250 persons in another ninety years will produce 22,500; then after a third ninety years the 22,500 persons will produce 2,025,000, and then after a fourth ninety years the 2,025,000 will, by the same rule, produce 182,250,000 persons in the space of 360 years; that is 40 years short of 400 years which the Jews spent in Egypt.

The seventy Jews who went down into Egypt, were seventy times stronger than John Peters of Hebron in 1717; of consequence, the Jews after being in Egypt 360 years, must have increased by the same rule and proportion, to 12,757,400,000 persons; and no doubt the reason why this number was reduced to 5,000,000 at their going out of Egypt, was the bondage the Jews suffered during 400 years under taskmasters in a bad climate and sandy soil. For,

we see similar consequences among the Africans under taskmasters in the West and East-Indies, and in South and North America, where the blacks have been decreasing ever since their bondage begun, and can never increase till they are removed out of the power of oppressors, the parents of hunger, thirst and sterility.

Admit that Noah and his three sons multiplied in the same proportion as John Peters of Hebron has done since 1717, their posterity at the end of 360 years after leaving the ark, would have numbered 729,000,000, a number equal to the present population of Asia, Africa, and Europe. The wars carried on by Ham and his posterity in Egypt and Arabia, and by Japheth in Europe and the Black Sea, have regularly prevented the population in Africa and Europe, whilst the mild and peaceable conduct of Noah and Shem increased population in Asia, equal in numbers to Africa, Europe and America.

The sterility of Asia between the North Pole and the line, having all soils and climates, is greatly against the increase of the human race, and the reason of its population being equal to that of Africa, Europe and America must be owing to the pacific system established there by Noah and Shem, which would have kept out war during time, had not Nimrod, grandson of Ham, and Gog and Magog descendants of Japheth, carried war and piracy into Asia from Africa and Europe, which the Asiatics resisted on

the principle of self-preservation, the innocent and first law of nature.

It is believed that each of the ten sons and daughters of William Peters, Esq. of 1634, has been as prolific as William his grandson, the father of John Peters of Hebron in 1717. This being taken for a truth, it appears that the children, grand-children, &c. &c. of William Peters of 1634 to 1807, amount to 4,000 persons in the space of ninety years, and by a calculation I have made on the death of the descendants from John Peters of Hebron, since 1717, I believe only seventy are dead, and that 330 descendants from John Peters of Hebron, are now living.—From the foregoing statement of the posterity of William Peters, Esq. of Boston in 1634, I conclude there is reason to believe the name of Peters will live as long in America as it has in Normandy and in the united kingdoms of Great Britain.

The Jews and Mahometans greatly revere Moses for his meekness and learning, yet never had gratitude sufficient to induce them to erect a monument or pyramid in honour of him at Kolsum, nine miles south of Suez, where he led the Israelites over the Red Sea; nevertheless, the author of these memoirs has hopes, that the descendants of William Peters, Esq. of 1634, will have sufficient gratitude to erect a monument of marble, in honour to his virtues and venerable ashes, resting in the church of Andover, in the state of Massachusetts, waiting for the second advent of Shiloh.

On the monument may be written, viz.

"Behold the ashes of William Peters, Esq. brother of the reverend Thomas Peters, Esq. and of the reverend Hugh Peters, who came from England to this gentile world in 1634, and planted wisdom, piety and benevolence.

Now "*his children rise up and call him blessed.*"

Should it be asked what have been my motives for publishing the character and life of Mr. Hugh Peters, who suffered martyrdom 147 years ago? my answer is, to vindicate his character against the abusive words of his aristocratic enemies during 147 years, and to inform the present and future republicans of his puritanic piety and virtues, by sacrificing his whole life in the cause of his country; and preferring liberty, morality, and faith in God, to riches, titles and life.

The party which murdered Hugh Peters, October 16, 1660, justly enacted a law to establish the 31st of January, annually, to be observed as a day of fasting and prayer, on account of the murder of king Charles I. "by cruel and unreasonable men," and with like reason they might have appointed the sixteenth of October annually, to be observed as a day of humiliation and prayer, on account of the murder of the reverend Hugh Peters, "by cruel and unreasonable men."

General Monk and his army were the "cruel and unreasonable men," who murdered Charles I. and the reverend Hugh Peters; nevertheless, general

Monk and his cruel party during 147 years, have annually, on January 31, kept the fast, by railing at and preaching lies against Hugh Peters, accusing him of the murder of king Charles I. although general Monk and his party know him to be as innocent of his blood, as he was of the blood of Abel.

Another reason for my making the collections and remarks in the preceding history of Hugh Peters, is to illuminate the minds of his numerous friends and relatives in the United States, and in the united kingdoms of Great Britain, who may not possess the histories of the infamous war between king Charles I. and his parliament in the 17th century.

General Monk's character is known in history to resemble the character of Judas. He deserted the king with his troop of horse, 1000, and joined Cromwell's army, defeated the king's army, and finally became commander in chief of the republican army; and having killed Charles I. and Cromwell being in his grave, Monk sold himself and army to Charles II. for a dukedom, and 10,000*l.* per annum, then deserted the republicans and restored Charles II. to the throne of England; he then fell on his old companions, Hugh Peters, general Harrison, judge Coke and other republicans, and with the gun, sword, halter and axe, destroyed more honest republicans than fled to America. Thus general Monk became a violent aristocrat from a violent democrat, and by his treachery and madness, in restoring Charles II. did infinite evil to Great Britain, and at

the same time did much good to America, in point of population, wisdom and wealth. I believe Robespierre was a far better man, and more humane than general Monk, even after he was created duke of Albemarle; which washed away all his former sins, by virtue of an act of parliament, of as much force in England as a bull of pardon from the Pope. Of course, general Monk is not in purgatory, but in zenith or nadir, and perhaps with old Sarah.

The younger sons of the nobility during the civil war, had joined Cromwell's party; so also had the barristers of law, some bishops, many rectors, and most of the curates called the inferior clergy in the hierarchy of England; of course they were under the necessity of emigrating to New England, as soon as the revolution took place, to shun the wrath and envy of general Monk, the returning nobility, judges, lord bishops and adhering clergy; by which means, New England, and especially Connecticut, was filled with emigrants of high families and science from Great Britain.

Among them was Thomas Seymour, a younger branch of the family of the duke of Somerset, who settled at Hartford, did honour to the rock from which he descended, and his numerous posterity have distinguished themselves by their virtues, piety and literary merits. The honourable Thomas Seymour, now of Hartford, is the head of the family, and for his great and general knowledge in law and the belles lettres, has been employed by the public in many

exalted stations, which he has discharged with honour to himself and benefit to the state.

Also came to Hartford, three brothers of the then lord Stanley, earl of Derby, whose father, the earl of Derby, fought for Charles I. and was taken prisoner by Cromwell, and by Cromwell put to death for high treason committed against the theocracy of the people of England. These three brothers have not disgraced their noble and heroic ancestor, who lived and died in defence of his king and country, nor did they ever forget the bravery and perseverance of the British heroine, their noble mother, who defended the castle of Derby with a handful of men, during six weeks, against Cromwell and his numerous army; and compelled Cromwell to raise the siege with a vow, that he would return and destroy the castle and the defenders of it, which vow Cromwell never performed.

These three brothers did well in Ephratah; they had an honourable share in the government of Connecticut, and left a numerous progeny who have an extensive spread and high stations in every state in the union. The honourable Henry Stanley of New-York, is the head of the Stanley family of that part.

William Russel, a younger branch of the family of the duke of Bedford, an eminent puritan clergyman came and settled at Middletown; he deserved well of Connecticut and other states, where his numerous posterity are planted, and imitate their pre-

decessor in science and liberality. Samuel Russel, Esq. of New-York, is the head of that family.

Pierrepont, a younger branch of the family of the duke of Kingston, came to New-Haven, and there was settled as a puritan clergyman; he distinguished himself in the pulpit and out of it by his pious discourses and charities. It is said, and no doubt with truth, his grandson, now residing in the city of New-Haven, is the legal heir of the estate and title of the duke of Kingston in south Britain, which title he may gain, if general Meadows, a son of a sister of the late duke, has not more interest than a native of Connecticut in the court of London.

Pelham, of the family of the duke of Newcastle, came to Boston with two sisters, who married Mr. Winslow and Mr. Sherman. The Pelham name has not multiplied much in New-England, but the Winslows and Shermans have greatly increased. The honourable Roger Sherman of New-Haven, a respectable member in congress, descended from a daughter of the duke of Newcastle.

Montague, of the family of the earl of Sandwich, came to Boston, and settled at Hadley, near North-Hampton, on Connecticut river, the most orthodox town in fanaticism in all Massachusetts. The great genius and shining talents of this noble Montague, were not able to correct the manners and stubborn zeal of Hadley and North-Hampton. He lived near the reverend Mr. Williams, a Welchman, and cousin of Oliver Cromwell, alias Oliver Williams, whose

name was changed to Cromwell by James I. to gain an estate of his aunt's husband, and was a firm friend to Goff and Whaley, two of the judges of Charles I. who fled from the cave in New-Haven to Hadley, to avoid the advertisements of Charles II. and were by Mr. Williams concealed many years. Montague was one of the few in the confidence of Williams, and the judges. His integrity and virtues were equal to those of Rahab of Jericho, who entertained the spies which Joshua sent to search out the land of Canaan; and merits equal praise and enjoys it. His posterity are not many, but what remain of them are valuable characters, and remain puritans to this day except one, whose name is William Montague, who made a tour to London about the year 1790, and became an episcopal clergyman, and the rector of Dedham, near Boston. He has the virtue, honour and integrity imputed to his noble ancestry.

John Graham, a younger branch of the duke of Montrose's family, a graduate in the university of Glasgow, in Scotland; emigrated to Hartford in Connecticut. His knowledge in the arts and sciences, procured for him great fame in the public mind, and by his exertions, he implanted wisdom and virtue in his numerous sons and daughters, even to the fifth generation.

Three of his sons, viz. John, Chauncey and Richard Crouch, distinguished themselves in the pulpit; Robert and Andrew rendered themselves very conspicuous in medicine and chemistry; they left many

sons ambitious and careful to imitate their noble and scientific ancestor in virtue, wisdom, and the belles lettres. Amongst his grandsons may be mentioned John Augustus Graham, M. D. a celebrated physician in New-York, Ebenezer Graham, M. D. a practitioner in London, and John Andrew Graham, L. L. D. now an able counsellor in the city of New-York, a gentleman of much diplomatic wisdom; and is no less distinguished both in Europe and America, for his urbanity and hospitality in private life, than for the standing he holds at the bar. Also, T. V. W. Graham, of Albany, a lawyer of great respectability. I know not one failure of the whole name of Graham, spread as it is in every state, who has not been a useful citizen in North America, and a benefactor to human society at large.

Three judges of Charles I. came to New-Haven with many officers, lawyers, clergymen, and physicians, being republicans and puritans, who had belonged to Cromwell's party, and joined the puritans of the millinarian order under the doctrines and improvements of the Rev. John Davenport, a gentleman of extraordinary talents clouded with bigotry, as was his brother in London, of the church of England, who preferred turning back to the church of Rome, rather than be a puritan, or live under the star-chamber court of England; therefore he went to Rome, and finally died a cardinal in that church.

The posterity of the Rev. and renowned John Davenport are numerous, learned and respectable in

every state, and uniformly have filled the pulpit, the bar and the bench with dignity, wisdom, and usefulness, being, and having been stimulated by the virtues and scientific character of their ancestor; whose portrait, with the portrait of Governor Yale, yet remain ornaments in the museum of Yale college at New-Haven, in the state of Connecticut; and there will be venerated by all literary methodists, episcopalians, and catholics, so long as the belles-lettres, piety and morality, prevail over bigotry and fantastic opinions, once the *bourrée* of New-England. At the head of this very extraordinary family is the honourable John Davenport, A. M. of Stamford, in Connecticut, and a valuable member of congress, who is son of the honourable colonel John Davenport, who was son of the Rev. John Davenport, of New-Haven, in 1637, who was brother of James Davenport, of London, who deserted the church of England, and went to Rome, A. D. 1635, where he became a cardinal of the catholic church, and would have been elected pope in honour to England, but for an untimely death; and thus poor old England never had the honour of giving but one pope to the holy catholic church, and that one was Adrian IV. at the close of the ninth century; which offended Henry VIII. 1535, and was the prime cause of the reformation.

The discernment of the emigrants to New-England was not inferior to the discernment of modern Europeans; for, they thought that theocracy had

been given to the people by Jehovah over both church and state, (A. M. 2900) in the days of Samuel the prophet, and that all clergymen and magistrates deducted and derived their authority from the vote and will of the people, and that they could lose their authority only by a vote of the majority of the people; which was a true protestant maxim in England, in A. D. 1535, 1648, 1688, 1715; in America, A. D. 1783; and in France, A. D. 1793; and in fact is believed by all nations where kings, emperors and popes reign by force of a standing army of soldiers, lord bishops, and nobles—who thus read the 149th psalm of David, the good king of the Jews, viz.

"God beautifies the proud with salvation, and "makes those saints joyful in glory: they sing aloud "upon their beds; because a two-edged sword is in "their hand, to execute punishments upon the peo-"ple, and to bind them in chains and with fetters of "iron; such honour have all kings, emperors, and "popes, who as saints praise the Lord."

The children of those emigrants from England, who adorned Cromwell's army, are spread over America in all directions, and by a kind of hereditary right govern the state and church, and seriously inculcate and pretend to believe the same doctrines in church and state as were taught by their venerable and pious ancestors; which proves what Solomon never recorded, viz. "Train up a child in the way he should not go, and when he is old he will not depart from it." I could mention thousands of the

children of ancient puritans, who have virtue, sincerity and piety, deeply buried in bigotry, and live on tradition as much as British judges and lawyers live on precedents of eight hundred years standing, and yet daily boast, that "the present generation is much wiser than the ancient." But I shall content myself with mentioning a few of them:

Samuel Harrison, Esq. of the state of Verdmont, a literary character, and president of the philosophical society of Pittsford, has distinguished himself in the war between England and America, and assisted in the capture of the two British armies under the command of General Burgoyne and Lord Cornwallis; and then was a member of the convention of Bennington, to adopt the federal constitution. Thus he has proved himself a hero like his ancestor, General Thomas Harrison, murdered in 1660 by Charles II. and General Monk; yet remains a puritan bigot, and as zealous in republicanism as was his great grandfather of everlasting fame.

Abraham Bishop, A. M. collector of New-Haven, in Connecticut, whose ancestor *in due time* fled from England to shun the ordealian law of the British hierarchy, and on his arrival at New-Haven, was elected governor of that colony, and deacon in the church.

And Isaac Jones, A. M. of New-Haven, great grandson of Colonel John Jones, one of the judges of Charles I. and for it was executed by General Monk and Charles II. in 1660; whose son, to avoid the fate of his father, fled to New-Haven, and was chosen go-

vernor of that colony and deacon in the church, "for the good deeds he had done to the house of God, and the offices thereof."

Those two gentlemen, Abraham Bishop and Isaac Jones, possess such talents and virtues as no man would be ashamed of, and yet they still remain high republicans and puritan bigots by force of tradition; a conscientious argument, stronger than wisdom, wine, and women, in the six states of New-England, and especially in Connecticut; where a congregational hierarchy, nominally under king Jesus, would be very acceptable, if the Saybrook platform was made orthodox by a vote of congress; an event not to be expected until a new president is chosen.—However, the good people live in hopes that the millinarian reign will commence at New-Haven, under an oligarchy, composed of king Jesus, a pope, seventy-two cardinals, archbishops, and lord bishops, with this proviso, that the congregational clergy in the United States shall form the majority of the convention which is to elect their king, pope, cardinals, archbishops, and lord bishops, and if such a condition be not granted, they will resist every state of the union in politics, and all Jews, Turks, Gentiles, and Christians, on the globe, with the doctrines of John Calvin, James Arminius, Martin Luther, John Knipperdoling, and Henry VIII. viz. "I am right, and all others are wrong."

In christendom, Ross and Broughton tell us there are six hundred and fifty-three sects of christians—

Poor Connecticut has more than her share of them.

A deist one day cried out, which of these sects is right? Moses the Jew replied, only one. The deist again exclaimed, which of these sects is heretical? The Jew again replied, all, excepting one; and that one the Mahometans condemn; because all have gone astray, and none doeth good, no, not one.

The sons of the pious and famous Rev. John Robinson, who agreed to emigrate with the puritans, the first settlers of Plymouth, in 1620, have done well in New-England, and have justly entailed on themselves the fame and virtues of their ancestor by following his example. They have very much multiplied in the six states of New-England, and have been distinguished for their science in divinity and law; of course they have been much employed in the pulpit and public concerns. Moses Robinson, A. M. of Verdmont, has been governor of that state, and a senator in congress; he is head of the family of Robinsons, descendants of the Rev. John Robinson, the father of the puritans in England, in 1620, in whom the methodists and puritans place confidence. One of his aunts married captain Trumbull, of Lebanon, in Connecticut, and had a son named Jonathan, who was elected governor of that state, during the war with Great Britain, and acted with such propriety, that his son Jonathan, after his father's death, has been chosen governor of the state; who by his polite and gentle manners promises to be governor of that

state until death removes him to a better world; where lives his grandparent the immortal John Robinson, and father of the puritans, or methodists, in New and Old England.

John Bulkley, of Wales, a puritan minister, emigrated to Boston: his son was minister of Colchester in Connecticut, and greatly helped that colony to the knowledge of the arts and sciences; his son John was a lawyer and senator in the assembly of Connecticut; and colonel Eliphalet, his son, is a gentleman in the city of New-London: the family is numerous and much respected, though they took a decisive part against the American *resistance* to Great Britain in 1774.

The Rev. Mr. Cruden, an eminent scholar in the university of Cambridge, England, being a meek and pious man, but also a puritan, emigrated to Boston and was settled by Dr. Mather and Mr Cotton, at a place called Rehoboth, four miles east of the town of Providence, in the state of Rhode-Island, the most barren soil in Massachusetts; for Mather and Cotton acted like moderators or bishops at that time in Boston, and named the town Rehoboth, because the word means, "the Lord hath made room for his beloved." It also was a frontier against the Pequod Indians, at the head of a creek emptying into Narragansett bay; where were plenty of fish and oysters, on which the settlers might live and protect Boston, if the Indians did not scalp them.

This pious clergyman, with his pious companions, not knowing their danger, went and formed the settlement of Rehoboth: the scite being pleasant, the air salubrious, and the prospect horrible. But the innocence of Cruden and his followers conciliated the savages, and they became friendly. They built a church, and encircled it with a set of houses like a half moon, facing the creek, where they worshipped the Creator with great devotion, and Cruden taught their children the arts and sciences gratis. That town is yet famous in New-England for the education of its children. In that barren soil, Cruden spent a useful life, and made to himself a name in the christian church, that will last as long as the Bible. There he formed the first Concordance of the Old and New Testaments, which was ever made in the English tongue. It was adopted and printed by the university of Cambridge in England, and, with additions and improvements, has passed through many editions, still under the name of Cruden's Concordance.

The ingenuity and Herculean labour displayed in this necessary index of the bible even astonished the old and new world: but Cruden got no money for the copy, either in New or Old England; yet he gained everlasting fame in Christendom, and Butler, in his Hudibras, fixed immortality on Cruden's wisdom, perseverance and patience, in making his Concordance, at Rehoboth, bordering on Sekonk Plain,

as barren as the Numidian sands, by his sarcastic distich; viz.

"———Hebrew roots are found
"To flourish best in barren ground."

Alluding to Cruden's ingenuity at Rehoboth, and to the wisdom of Moses on Mount Sinai.

Cruden's posterity are few and respectable in New-England. His eldest son returned to England, and was much esteemed both in the pulpit and out of it; and one of his sons was the eminent and venerable presbyterian minister of the church near Covent Garden, so highly insulted by Lord George Gordon, one of his parishioners in 1780, because he prayed extempore, and sung by book, and preached by notes; which his lordship said, proved an absurdity, for Cruden prayed by the Spirit, but did not sing and preach by the Spirit.

Moses Chittenden, an officer in Cromwell's own regiment, a solid puritan, arrived at New-Haven, and settled in Guilford by order of the sanhedrim, at the head of which was the Rev. John Davenport, who was not inferior in his station to Samuel, the Jewish prophet at Jerusalem. Mr. Chittenden was a brave soldier, and left his spirit to a large number of children, who have spread into divers parts of the United States, and have not disgraced their heroic ancestor, who admired Hugh Peters, Richard Baxter, and John Bunyan. The family has shared in the government and honours of America. The head branch

of the family, Thomas Chittenden, Esq. moved into the state of Verdmont, and was annually elected governor of that state for many years; and his second son, a literary character, is a member of congress. The family have in general remained puritans, alias methodists; but very free from that bigotry, which has too long been the characteristic of the settlers in New-England. However, since the revolution, superstition has given way to reason, and moderation is fast progressing amongst all sects and denominations, who have ventured to teach their children, "that so much as I differ from you, just so much you differ from me," is a better maxim than that formerly taught, viz. "I know what's right, not only so, but always practise what I know." Nothing but a civil establishment of one sect of christians at the expense of the rest, can bring superstition and persecution again into the United States; an evil to be expected, when the conspiration of the presbyterian associations, united with the college of royal bishops between St. Croix and the Mississippi, can bring forward their petition before congress with success—a quicksand not yet in sight, nor will be, until the spirit of aristocracy prevails in congress as it did in the days of Samuel the prophet, which taught the mobility to cry out, "We will have a king to reign over us," with a noble race of hereditary rulers—then America will need no other foe.

Sir Richard Saltonstall, of Yorkshire, in England, became a zealous puritan, and emigrated to Boston,

to shun the star-chamber court of England. One of his sons settled as minister at New-London, whose abilities and great zeal so distinguished him in the associations and consociation of Connecticut, that the consociation, who always point out to the associations proper persons to be elected governor, deputy governor, secretary, treasurer, and senators, and the associations teach the people who are proper men to be their representatives from each township, recommended him to be exalted from the pulpit to the gubernatorial chair of Connecticut; and thereby the assembly of that state, got under *a divine government*, under which it yet remains by virtue of a charter given by Charles II. in 1662, notwithstanding the revolution which took place in 1783.

Mr. Saltonstall with wisdom governed in church and state, according to the directions of the consociation, and of course held the office during his life, though annually elected. He left a numerous race, who have done themselves honour in America, although they have always shunned the pulpit, and the office of a deacon. The governor's son Gurdon had a great genius, was a senatorand judge in Connecticut, and died a general in the American service. He had twelve sons and four daughters; all behaved well, and were married, and had children and grandchildren. One daughter married to Silas Deane, A. M. a rich merchant in Wethersfield, a bright scholar as ever Yale college could boast of, a consummate politician, and a member of congress; on which ac-

count he was sent ambassador to the French court, then the most jesuitical court in the world; and yet Silas Deane out-manœuvred Sartine, king Louis XVI. and all his court, by a sublime fetch, that astonished Dr. Franklin, and made him cry with horror for six hours. Silas Deane's manœuvre proved successful, and the tears of Dr. Franklin were dried up, and he lived in smiles, and went to heaven with gratitude to Silas Deane.

I venture to say, that no other person but S. Deane could have dared the court of France as he did, and have escaped the Bastile. But he escaped, and gained immortality, and the aid of France against England, six months before the British court and Lord Stormont knew of it. Thus Silas Deane gained in one day and night independence for America, unknown to Dr. Franklin and Mr. Lee, his fellow ambassadors from congress. Such a manœuvre would in England have given its author a dukedom, and ten thousand pounds per annum. But envy and ingratitude found their way into congress, who united, caused Mr. Deane's recal to Philadelphia, and the forbearance of paying him half a million of livres, laid out for arms and cloathing, to the present day. Vide Deane's printed account. It was well said by David, who perfectly knew the temper of Saul and all other kings, "Put not not your trust in kings, nor in bishops, nor place confidence in any body of men, for their gratitude is fleeting, and is like the breath in their nostrils." Yet all must remem-

ber, that David was a man after God's heart, and reigned forty years; and during that time he declares, "he never saw the righteous forsaken by him and his court, nor any of their seed begging their bread." The son of Silas Deane, now residing at Hartford, in Connecticut, has reason to rejoice in a wise and patriotic father, and to mourn over the ingratitude of the world.

The Rev. Mr. Ward, being an eminent puritan in England, disliked the spiritual and star-chamber courts under the controul of the hierarchy of England; he fled to New-England, and became minister of Agawam, an Indian village, making the west part of Springfield, in the state of Massachusetts. He was an exact scholar, a meek, benevolent, and charitable christian. He used the Indians with justice and tenderness, and established one of the best towns on Connecticut river. He was free from hypocrisy, and stiff bigotry, which then domineered in New-England, and which yet remains at Hadley and Northampton, not much to the credit of morality and piety. Mr. Ward had a large share of hudibrastic wit, and much pleasantry with his gravity. This appears in his history of Agawam, wherein he satirized the prevailing superstition of the times; which did more good than Dr. Mather's book, entitled, "Stilts for dwarfs in Christ to wade through the mud," or his Magnalia, with his other twenty-four books. His posterity are many, and have done their part in the pulpit, in the field, and at the bar.

in the six states of New-England, and generally have followed the charitable temper of their venerable ancestor, and seldom fail to lash the avarice of the clergy, who are often recommending charity and hospitality to the needy stranger, and at the same time never follow their own advice to others. Mr. Ward, of Agawam, has left his children an example worthy of imitation. The story is thus related:

Dr. Mather, of Boston, was constantly exhorting his hearers to entertain strangers, for by doing so they might entertain angels. But it was remarked, that Dr. Mather never entertained strangers, nor gave any relief to beggars. This report reached Mr. Ward, of Agawam, an intimate *chum* of the Doctor while at the university. Ward said he hoped it was not true; but resolved to discover the truth: therefore he set off for Boston on foot, 120 miles, and arrived at the door of Dr. Mather on Saturday evening, when most people were in bed, and knocked at the door, which the maid opened. Ward said, "I come from the country, to hear good Dr. Mather preach to-morrow: I am hungry, and thirsty, without money, and I beg the good Doctor will give me relief and a bed in his house until the sabbath is over." The maid replied, "The Doctor is in his study, it is Saturday night, the sabbath is begun, we have no bed, or victuals, for ragged beggars;" and shut the door upon him. Mr. Ward again made use of the knocker: the maid went to the Doctor, and told him there was a sturdy beggar beating the door, who in-

sisted on coming in and staying there over the sabbath. The Doctor said, "Tell him to depart, or a constable shall conduct him to a prison." The maid obeyed the Doctor's order; and Mr. Ward said, "I will not leave the door until I have seen the Doctor." This tumult roused the Doctor, with his black velvet cap on his head, and he came to the door and opened it, and said, "Thou country villain, how dare you knock thus at my door after the sabbath has begun?" Mr. Ward replied, "Sir, I am a stranger, hungry and moneyless; pray take me in, until the holy sabbath is past, so that I may hear one of your godly sermons." The Doctor said, "Vagrant, go thy way, and trouble me no more; I will not break the sabbath by giving thee food and lodging;" and then shut the door. The Doctor had scarcely reached his study, when Ward began to exercise the knocker with continued violence. The Doctor, not highly pleased, returned to the door, and said, "Wretched being, why dost thou trouble me thus? what wilt thou have?" Ward replied, "Entertainment in your house until Monday morning." The Doctor said, "You shall not; therefore go thy way." Mr. Ward replied, "Sir, as that point is settled, pray give me sixpence or a shilling, and a piece of bread and meat." The Doctor said, "I will give thee neither," and again shut the door. And then Mr. Ward thundered with the knocker of the door, and the Doctor returned in great wrath, and said, "Thou art mad, or possessed with an evil spirit: what wilt thou have

now?" Mr. Ward replied, "Since you, Sir, will not give lodgings, nor money, nor food, nor drink to me, I pray for your advice; will you direct me to a stew?" The Doctor cried out, "Vagrant of all vagrants! the curse of God will fall on thee; thou art one of the non-elects. Dost thou, villain, suppose I am acquainted with bad houses? What dost thou want at a stew?" Mr. Ward replied, "I am hungry, weary, thirsty, moneyless, and almost naked; and Solomon, the wisest king the Jews ever had, tells me and you, *that a whore will bring a man to a morsel of bread at the last.*" Now Dr. Mather awoke from his reverend dream, and cried, "Tu es Wardonus vel Diabolus." Mr. Ward laughed, and the Doctor took him in and gave him all he wanted; and Mr. Ward preached for the Doctor next day both morning and evening.

This event had its due effect on the Doctor ever after, and he kept the Shunamite's chamber, and became hospitable and charitable to all in want.

It corrected the Doctor's temper to such a degree, that six months after, he ceased to pray more against the pope and conclave of Rome, and supplied the vacuum, by praying for the downfall of the red dragon at Morocco, Egypt and Arabia, on the east side of the Red Sea, even at Mecca and Medina; words which helped the sand to pass through the hour glass, the orthodox length of a prayer.

—— Clinton, Esq. a younger branch of the family of the earl of Lincoln, since made duke of New-

castle under line, emigrated to Saybrook, afterwards settled near Albany, in the state of New-York, where he educated many children, and established a character worthy of the rock whence he was hewn. A relative of his, not being a puritan, was sent from England to be governor of New-York; he was father of Sir Henry Clinton, bart. and commander in chief of the British forces sent to conquer America in the 18th century. In that war, the descendants of the puritan Clinton distinguished themselves against the British forces, and one of them became a general in the American army, and governor of the state of New-York, in which stations he manifested great bravery, consummate wisdom and uncommon humanity; thereby he gained a hallowed character, even amongst the loyalists and the British army. After the war closed, and America had secured its independence, Mr. Clinton was continued many years governor of the important and extensive state of New-York; by his fatigues in that office, his health was impaired, and necessity impelled him to resign the gubernatorial chair, for the benefits of private life. On the recovery of his health, the citizens of the United States, with gratitude remembering his virtues and noble services, elected him to be Vice-President of the United States, in which station, his brilliant talents have enabled him to benefit the public and do honour to himself. His further exaltation will, undoubtedly, take place on the resignation of

Mr. Jefferson, the immortalized philosopher and statesman. One of the brothers of Vice-President Clinton, James, a major general in the American army, married a descendant of the celebrated De Witt of Amsterdam; and had two sons well known in the literary world, by their diplomatic wisdom and knowledge in the belles-lettres. One of these sons is now a member of congress: the other, named De Witt, has been a senator in congress, mayor of the city of New-York, and now a senator in the legislature of the state of New-York; and promises with his eminent abilities and polished manners, to do as much for the United States of America, as Tell did for Switzerland; De Witt for the United States of Holland, or Solon for the Greeks.

Was it consistent with my intended brevity, I could here add many other families, who for puritanism, were driven from Great Britain to suffer persecution in America; and, with their children, have been, and now are, ornaments to human nature, and the pride of the United States; but those already mentioned are sufficient to prove, that New-England was not settled by the dregs and scum of Old England: and that the British rulers from 1580 to 1783, have conducted themselves with arrogance, destitute of policy, or fraternal affection, towards the puritan settlers of America. Britons, therefore, lost America by their insolence, contempt and tyranny: for like reasons they have lost Hanover, ruined the best of kings and lost the love of all nations on the globe.

In the same manner, Tyre of old lost the controul of the commerce of Asia, Africa, Europe, and the isles of the seas: and by the same means, Byzantium, Rome, Genoa and Spain lost themselves. Such events have taken place from the depravity of human nature, or from the decrees of the Creator. We find Sarah, wife of Abraham, was blamed by the angels of God for her conduct in laughing and telling a lie; and all men have blamed her for compelling Abraham to take Hagar as a second wife, with a view to find whether sterility appertained to Sarah or Abraham, and when the discovery was made, Sarah humbled herself to her husband, and became nurse to Hagar, and to Ishmael her son, until he was fourteen years of age, at which time Sarah became mother of Isaac. Alas! then Sarah's pride, selfishness and want of human perfection, compelled her to cry aloud to Abraham, "*Hagar's son Ishmael shall not* "*inherit with my son Isaac.*" This doctrine descended to Rebecca (or contention) wife of Isaac, and mother of Esau and Jacob; who, not satisfied with her twin sons, hated Esau, her first born, and loved Jacob, her second born. Her hatred and love caused the distinction of two nations, the Gentiles (or Esau) and the Jews (or Jacob); and also, she seduced her husband Isaac in the most collusive manner to bless Jacob as the first born; therefore, Esau was sent into the wilderness of Edom to hunt and take furrs for Jacob. There he met with Bashemeth (or perfume) a daughter of Ishmael, his uncle, and married her,

from whom sprang Mahomet, A. D. 622, the implacable enemy of the Jews and christians.

I shall leave those hints to the wise readers, and close this appendix with a short table of prelacy (or episcopacy) advanced by Hugh Peters and the lords and commons, in opposition to the hierarchy of England and Rome, supported by archbishop Laud, in the reign of Charles I. which caused the calamity of England, and the downfall of its hierarchy and monarchy.

From the famous John Rodgers down to John Brown, Hugh Peters, John Wesley, Dr. Coke, five heads of the puritans or methodists in England; and from Luther, Calvin, Arminius, Knipperdoling, John Huss, and all protestants in Germany, France and Sweden; prelacy amongst the clergy has been adopted and used, in opposition to a hierarchy, first instituted by Marcellus, the 28th bishop of Rome, at the beginning of the 4th century; when he put off the mitre and put on a triple crown as indicative of his spiritual power over Asia, Africa and Europe; and to perfect the plan his statue in bronze was erected, his right foot standing on Rome, his left on Jerusalem; his left hand resting on Egypt, and his right extending westerly over the isles of the sea; with a Doric inscription on his crown—"*vicarius* "*christi*;" meaning in English, "I am the supreme "head of Christ's church on earth." The said hierarchy, or holy government thus began, has since continued under 217 popes including Pius VII. by

the grace of *Bon-ne-parte*, a Greek driven from Sparta, A. D. 1717, to Corsica, by the Turks, with Theodore and Paoli, kings of Corsica. *Bon-ne-parte* " is " the name of a man :" " he that hath wisdom will " count the number of letters in his name, and will " know it has ten letters, like Chixi Sigma, which " by the Greek numeral table, numbers 666, and that " he is the beast of the earth, who doeth great won- " ders, and no man shall stay him on his way."— Rev. xiii. 18.

I shall here give the statement of Hugh Peters, between episcopacy and prelacy, and a hierarchy; which he laid before king Charles, at the isle of Wight, which the king admitted to be the apostolic system, and agreed to abolish the hierarchy of the church of England; but the royal concession was too late to gratify the views of general Monk and his army.

Hugh Peters' Address to Charles I.

" May it please your Majesty,

" We find that after Noah left the ark, he built an " altar unto the lord, and offered burnt offerings on it; " and that Shem, his second son, succeeded him as " priest of the most high God, whom the Jewish " history styles Melchesi eck, and as such, he bles- " sed Abraham. From the flood to Abraham's day, " the Greeks and Romans in their histories, style all " the people of Asia, Africa and Europe, Gentiles;

"though they had temples and a priesthood in three "orders, named Proto Flamens, Arch Flamines and "Flamines. When Moses went out of Egypt A. "M. 2514, he established a priesthood for the Is- "raelites under a high-priest, priests and Levites, "which lasted till Christ came and established his "church according to the order of Melchisedec ne- "ver to end, under three orders, viz. Christ the "chief shepherd, apostles and disciples. After the "ascension of Christ, his church remained under "the apostles, disciples and deacons. After the "death of St. John, A. D. 100, the Greek church "remained under *episcopos*, *presbyteroi and diaco-* "*noi;* and the Roman church under the Latin words, "*pontifex*, *pastores* and *diaconi*. Since the Refor- "mation, A. D. 1515, by Luther, his church is un- "der intendants, pastors and deacons. The churches "of the Calvinists, Arminians and Hugonots are un- "der moderators, pastors and deacons. Knipper- "doling, head of the antipedobaptists, placed his "church under inspectors, elders and deacons.

"I have stated to your Majesty, what we mean by "episcopacy or prelacy, viz. three orders in the priest- "hood enjoyed by the Gentiles, Jews and Christians, "from A. M. 1656, to A. D. 400; when Marcellus, "the 28th bishop of Rome, usurped dominion over "Asia, Africa and Europe, and called his usurpa- "tion a hierarchy, or holy government, such as pre- "vails in heaven by the great Eternal, over angels "and just men made perfect.

"I will now state to your Majesty, what Marcel-
"lus meant by a hierarchy on earth, and by it you
"will see Marcellus meant to degrade the prelacy or
"episcopacy, both of Melchisedec and of Christ,
"under five orders, viz. the popes, the cardinals, the
"patriarchs, the archbishops and city bishops, all
"above suffragan bishops, priests and deacons, and
"yet not known in holy scripture, nor in ancient his-
"tory. On this corruption began the Reformation by
"Luther, in 1515, and the Germanic protestants,
"against which Henry VIII. wrote with such violent
"zeal that the pope rewarded him with the title of
"'Defender of the Faith;' however, Henry VIII.
"in 1535, to gratify his pride and lust, renounced
"the hierarchy of Rome, and joined Luther, and by
"his royal authority established an English hierar-
"chy, named by himself the 'Church of England,'
"in which he also degraded episcopacy, or apostolic
"prelacy, under five orders, viz. rex princeps pasto-
"rum, lord archbishops, lord bishops, deacons, arch-
"deacons, rural bishops, priests and deacons. A
"glorious reformation worthy of Henry VIII. and of
"no other monarch since the death of "Jeroboam
"who made Israel to sin."

Charles I. was perfectly satisfied with the above statement, and signed the treaty to put down the hierarchy in England, which terminated the civil war between the Laudeans and puritans, and would have restored peace to church and state, but for the independents under the command of general Monk,

who had a selfish game to play, and declared the puritans, the presbyterians and royal hierarchs, had united in treachery against the liberty, rights and lives of the sovereign and independent people of England, to restore an ecclesiastical establishment, as fatal in its consequences as the hierarchy had been. Monk and his party, therefore, nullified the treaty made on the Isle of Wight, and soon after murdered the king and many of his real friends and subjects, who did not wish to emigrate into the wilds of New-England. This accounts for the ungrateful conduct during the reign of Charles II. who was compelled by the independents and their allies to desert his friends and to buy his enemies; which James II. omitted doing and so lost his crown in 1688; not much to the glory of his son-in-law, William III. or his two daughters, Mary and Ann.

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